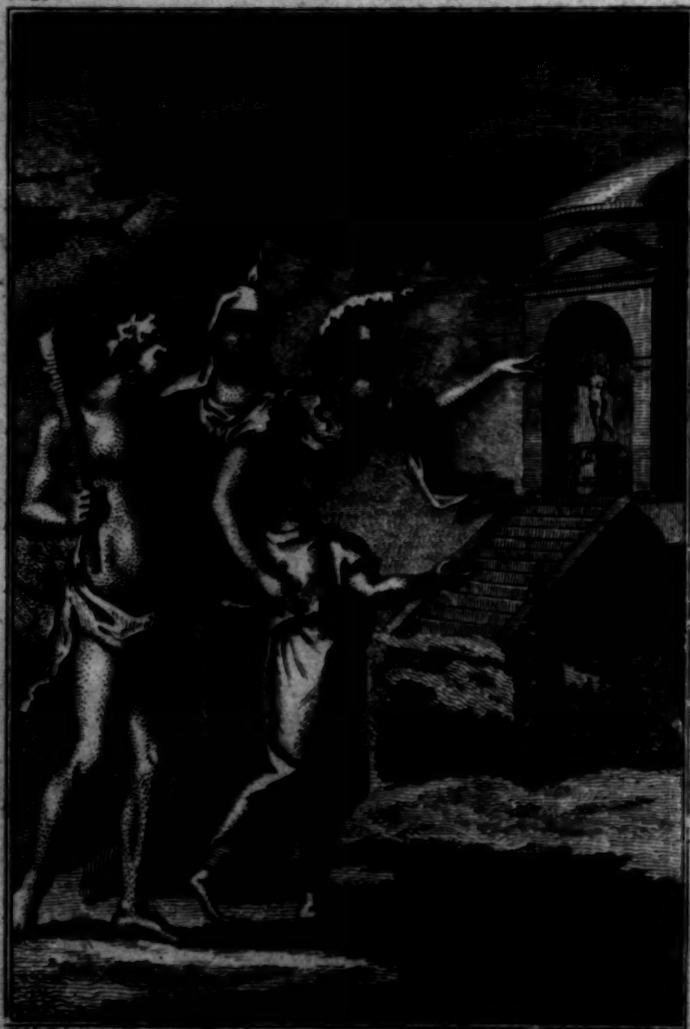


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T H E
BRITISH PLUTARCH,
CONTAINING
THE L I V E S
OF THE

Most Eminent STATESMEN, PATRIOTS, DIVINES, WARRIORS, PHILOSOPHERS, POETS, and ARTISTS, of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND, from the Accession of HENRY VIII. to the present Time. Including, a Complete History of ENGLAND from that Era.

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VOL. I.

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the EDITOR,

T. MORTIMER, Esq;

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Printed for E. and C. Dilly, in the Poultry.
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THE
BRITISH MUSEUM

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Being the most eminent persons, who flourished
in the reigns of Henry VIII. Edward VI. and
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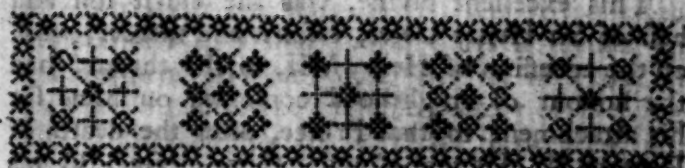
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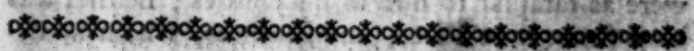
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THE
BRITISH PLUTARCH.



THE LIFE OF
JOHN COLET, D. D.
[A. D. 1466, to 1519.]

IN the various degrees of kindred merit,
which endear the memories of illustrious men, to latest posterity, surely, that which lays a foundation for the improvement of the human mind, through a long succession of ages, by providing for the education of youth, deservedly holds the foremost rank: the reader therefore, will not be displeased, that the chronological order of time, which we have engaged to follow accurately throughout this work, requires us to give the first place, in our extensive field of emulative fame, to the memoirs of the pious founder of St. Paul's school.

VOL. I.

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This excellent divine, was the eldest son and heir of Sir Henry Colet, citizen and mercer, who, on the accession of Henry VII. to the throne, had the honour of knighthood conferred on him, for his attachment to that Prince, after the death of Richard III. He was likewise twice elected, by his fellow citizens, to the dignity of chief magistrate.

John Colet was born at London, in the year 1466, and in 1483, he was sent to Magdalene College Oxford, where after pursuing the usual studies, at the expiration of seven years, he took his degree of master of arts, with distinguished reputation; for at this time, all the works of Tully were as familiar to him as his epistles; neither was he a stranger to Plato, and Plotinus, whom he diligently pursued and compared, the one as a comment on the other. But such was the infelicity of those times, that the Greek language was not only neglected in our schools and universities, but the love, and encouragement of it, was looked upon as heresy; in reference to which barbarous opinion, Erasmus quotes a proverb, "*Cave a Græcis, ne fias hereticus*, Take care of the Greek, lest you become a heretic." So that Colet was obliged to read the above-mentioned authors, in their Latin translations, till in his more advanced years, he became acquainted with the great originals.

When Colet took his degrees in arts at Oxford, he had a sufficient estate to support him as a gentleman, and a fair interest to recommend him at court. He had the advantage of a tall and graceful person: and this design of being a courtier might perhaps have been the advice of his father, who had been used to gaiety and splendour in the public offices in the City, and had gained a very particular interest with the king: but the pious youth, determined by his own spirit of religion, was resolved

solved to enter into holy orders, and renounce the temptations of a courtly life. As a further encouragement to our young divine, in 1485, he was presented to the valuable rectory of Denyngton in Suffolk, by Sir William Knevet, a near relation of his mother, which living he held to the day of his death; and in 1490, he was also presented by his own father, to the living of Thryning, in the county of Huntingdon; which he resigned in 1493, when he was admitted to the prebendary of Botevant in the church of York, upon the resignation of the famous Christopher Urfwicke. He was also made prebend of Good-easter in the church of St. Martin Le Grand, which he resigned the 26th of January 1503, having been admitted the year before to the prebend of Durnesford in the church of Sarum.

These preferments, bestowed on a youth under age, may seem a little extraordinary to some; but we must consider it was the custom of the Romish church; Mr. Colet being then an *Acolothist*, which is one of their seven ecclesiastical orders, he was duly qualified to hold them.

Mr. COLET's ample income, now afforded him the means of gratifying an inclination which he had long indulged of visiting foreign countries, in order to complete his studies in the learned languages, to read the ancient Greek fathers, and to cultivate an acquaintance and friendship with men of letters. With this intent, he quitted Oxford in the year 1493, and passing over to the continent, studied divinity both in Italy and France, where he met with several other English students, who went abroad to attain the Greek tongue; for the passion for that language, and the purer writers, in the Latin, was now grown very prevalent all over Europe, and no where more than in England, from whence numbers of the youth, and many advanced

in life, continually went out in quest of them; because, though several volumes of the works of the best authors lay dormant in our colleges and monasteries, the monks, who knew that ignorance was their chief support, could by no means be prevailed on to communicate them.

Charles VIII. styled, *the affable and the courteous*, at this time, sat upon the throne of France, and patronizing the sciences, Paris became the seat of learning, and a place of general resort for men of eminence, in every profession. In this city therefore Mr. Colet took up his first residence; and soon became acquainted with Robert Guaguinus, the French historian, who had been in England on an embassy from Charles to Henry VII. This gentleman inspired him with an ardent desire to be recommended to Erasmus, a specimen of whose great genius, and skill in the Latin tongue, he had shewn him, in a complimentary letter upon the publication of his history of France. Here likewise he formed an intimacy with the celebrated Budceus, who making honourable mention of our young divine, in the course of his correspondence with Erasmus, laid the foundation of the future friendship which subsisted between them.

From Paris, Mr. Colet went to Italy, where his acquaintance with men eminent for their learning became still more universal, especially at Rome. In this city, the famous grammarian William Lily first fell under his observation, who had learnt the Greek at Rhodes, and was improving himself in Latin under John Sulpitius and Pomponius Sabinus. At Florence, he met with two more of his countrymen, Grocyne and Linacer, who were perfecting themselves in the knowledge of the Greek tongue, under those great masters Demetrius, Angelus Politianus, and Hermolus Barbofus; and at Padua, he found the famous Latymer, af-

ter-

terwards bishop of Worcester: by these he was introduced to the most illustrious foreigners, and enabled to acquire every valuable accomplishment derived from travelling.

Colet remained about four years abroad, returning home in 1497: but upon this occasion it is said, he had much difficulty to resist his desire of appearing at court, where he could shew the accomplishments he had acquired in the world to the best advantage. Indeed he was endowed with some natural propensities, which were better adapted to a public life, than the confinement of a college. He had a high spirit, impatient of the least injury and affront. By the same bent of nature he was also addicted to love and luxury; and was inclined to an air of freedom and pleasantry. But he first conquered, and then commanded himself, by so far subjecting his passions to reason and philosophy, that he could bear a reproof, even from his own servants. He restrained his disposition to effeminate indulgencies, by a continual abstinence, a strict sobriety, close application, serious thinking, and religious conversation; and thus he preserved every step of his whole life from the pollutions of the world: yet, whenever opportunities offered, either of jesting with facetious persons, or talking familiarly with the female sex, or of appearing at feasts and entertainments, nature was sure to break forth; for which reason, he very seldom associated with laymen, and forbore all public places: but if necessity brought him, he singled out some learned person from the rest, with whom he discoursed in Latin, to avoid the prophane discourse of the table; and, in the mean time, he would eat of but one dish, and take but one or two draughts of beer, for the most part refraining from wine. "There never was, (says Erasmus) a more flowing wit; and, for that reason, he delighted in the like society;

ciety; but even there he chose such discourses as favoured most of religion; and it is a proof of his great good-nature, that he was a passionate lover of little children, whose innocence he admired of all things."

The first thing Colet did, after his return home, was to be ordained deacon, and, shortly after, priest. His father and mother then lived at London, with whom he resided a few months; and, then retired to Oxford. It being the custom at that time for men of distinguished abilities in the university to set up voluntary lectures, Mr. Colet, though he had neither taken nor desired any degree in divinity; read public lectures, without stipend or reward, by way of exposition of the epistles of St. Paul. The novelty of these exercises, occasioned crowded audiences, and admiration of the lecturer increased and continued them. There was not a doctor in divinity or law, or any other dignitary of the church, who neglected to hear Colet, or withheld from him the applause that he deserved; the bigots only, and those whose interest it was to keep up the old ignorance and superstition, treated his discourses as those of a heretic and schismatic, because he openly avowed the necessity for a reformation.

Things were in this posture at Oxford, when Erasmus, who had been for some time at Paris, as tutor to the lord Montjoy, was prevailed on by that nobleman to come over to England; and having a recommendation to Richard Charnock, of the college of St. Mary the Virgin, he went directly to that university, where he was received and accommodated in the most friendly and hospitable manner; and at this time, and in this place, it was, that the intimate friendship between our Divine and Erasmus commenced.

Charnock,

Charnock, to whom Erasmus had been recommended, was also an intimate acquaintance of Colet's; to whom he had no sooner mentioned the name of his guest, than we find him impatient to recommend himself to so excellent a person; for not waiting an opportunity to see Erasmus, he immediately wrote him, from his own chamber, an elegant and polite epistle, which shewed the writer to be a scholar, a traveller, and a gentleman; concluding with these words: "I congratulate your arrival in this island, and wish our country may be as pleasant to you, as, I know, you, by your great learning, must be useful to us. I am, sir, and shall always be, devoted to one whom I believe to be the most learned and the best of men." Erasmus directly returned him an answer, equally polite and spirited, and said, "If he could find any thing commendable in himself, he should be proud of being commended by such a worthy person, to whose judgement he allowed so great weight; that his silent esteem alone had been preferable to all the applauses of a theatre at Rome. "Your country of England," adds he, "is most pleasant to me upon many accounts, particularly in this, that it abounds with those blessings, without which nothing would relish with me, men of admirable learning, among whom, no one will repine, that I reckon you the chief." He then praises the style of his letters, as easy, smooth, unaffected, flowing from a rich vein, as water from a clear fountain, every part like itself; open, plain, modest, having nothing in it rough, turbid, or intricate; so that he could see the image of his soul in what he wrote.

This epistolary correspondence, joined to the recommendations of Budæus, ended in the strictest intimacy imaginable, which continued to the end of their lives. They studied to improve each other,

and instruct mankind : and though they sometimes differed in opinion upon theological points, this did not produce the least ill temper or coolness between them. On the contrary, in 1499, Erasmus and his admired friend first held their conferences upon our blessed Saviour's reluctances and fears before his last passion. Colet could not approve of the common opinion of divines, that Christ, upon a prospect of his agonies, shrunk from them in his human nature. Erasmus maintained the opinion of the schoolmen : but Colet had the advantage of the best meaning, and of the greatest courage, in departing from the common sentiments of the schools and the church, in that credulous age. Erasmus concludes his epistle concerning this dispute, in the most friendly and respectful manner; calling himself a rash man, and a raw soldier, for entering the lists with such an experienced general as Colet : appearing pleased at his confutation, Colet telling him, " When, like two flints, we are striking one another, if any spark of light flies out, let us eagerly catch at it ; we seek not for our own opinion, but for truth, which, in this mutual conflict, may be extorted as fire out of steel." Colet also freely expressed to Erasmus his great dislike of that new theology, which was unhappily brought into the church by the modern schoolmen, and was, in effect, nothing but the art of trifling and wrangling. He told him, he had set himself against those scholastic divines, and would, if possible, restore the theological studies that were founded upon the scriptures, and the primitive fathers. He said, it was upon this view, he had publicly expounded the epistles of St. Paul, and should be glad of a partner in that labour of searching the scriptures.

When Erasmus left England, Colet still continued at Oxford, where he went on with his usual exposition

exposition of the apostolical epistles; though the use and study of the scriptures was so low at this time, that even the degree of doctor of divinity could not admit a man to the reading of them, which made Colet negligent of that honour. However, by the importunity of his friends, we find him doctor of divinity in' 1504: but his thoughts were entirely bent on the destruction of that idol of ignorance, the cobweb divinity of the schools; aiming to exalt the scriptures and Jesus Christ in its room; for which reason the schoolmen always looked upon Colet with a jealous eye; whom he frequently engaged, always vanquished, and never convinced; though he still continued to shew the necessity of a reformation; by expelling the Scotists and Thomists, who had divided the Christian world between them; by discovering the shameful abuses of monasteries, and religious houses; and by exposing the perils of imposing celibacy on the clergy.

MR. COLET, while he was abroad, had been made a prebendary in the church of York, and had been installed by proxy in 1494; but farther promotion was to be the reward of his conspicuous merit, for Henry VII. who loved to confer unexpected favours, and esteemed Colet as an eminent divine, and excellent preacher, divested of ambition, judged him on this account, the more worthy of preferment; and, in 1505, made him dean of St. Paul's, without his solicitation, or knowledge. And indeed, this excellent man, as if he had been called only to the labours, not to the dignity of his office, restored the decayed discipline of his cathedral church, and brought in what was a new practice there, preaching himself upon Sundays; and he called to his assistance other learned divines, particularly Grocyn and Sowle, whom he appointed to read divinity lectures, upon all

solemn festivals. He would not take a desultory text out of the gospel or epistle for the day, but chose a fixed and larger subject, which he prosecuted in several successive discourses, till he went through the whole. He had always a full auditory, and the chief magistrates of the city. Nor was he only a free and constant preacher of the gospel in his own cathedral, but at court, and in many other churches, where his sermons were much frequented, because the strict discipline of his life regularly corresponded with the integrity of his doctrine.

Till this time, there was scarce so much as a Latin Testament in any cathedral church in England. Instead of the gospel of Christ, the gospel of Nicodemus was affixed to a pillar in the nave of the metropolitan church of Canterbury. But the method that dean Colet took of expounding the scriptures, began to raise in the nation an enquiry after those oracles of God; and that he was more than half a protestant, appears from his condemning auricular confession, purgatory, and the daily celebration of mass. He would have all divine service performed in a serious and solemn manner: he was delighted with the apostolical epistles; but more affected with the admirable words of our Saviour in the gospels, which he selected under proper heads, and intended to write a book upon them.

Erasmus has transmitted the following relation of the dean's manner of living, as an example to posterity. "The dean's table, (in the time of his predecessor) under the name of hospitality, had savoured too much of pomp and luxury, which he contracted to a more frugal and temperate way of entertainment: it had been his custom, for many years, to eat only one meal a day, that of dinner; so that he always had the evening to himself.

self. When he dined in private with his own family, he had usually some strangers for his guests; but few, because his provision was frugal, though genteel. The sittings were short, and such as pleased only the learned and good. After grace before meat, some boy, who had a good voice, read distinctly a chapter out of one of St. Paul's Epistles, or out of the Proverbs of Solomon. When the chapter was ended, the dean would mention some particular part of it, from whence he would frame a subject for conversation, and ask his companions their sense of its meaning: but he so adapted his manner to their dispositions, that he caused even these grave subjects neither to tire their patience, or give any other distaste. Towards the end of the repast, he generally started another subject of discourse, and then dismissed his guests, profited both in mind and body from those visits which they paid him. The conversation of his particular friends gave him infinite delight, which he would sometimes protract till far in the evening; but their discourse was either on religion or learning. He was curious in the choice of his company; therefore, if he could not have such as were agreeable, he caused a servant to read to him out of the scriptures. In his excursions, says Erasmus, he would sometimes make me one of his company, and then no man was more easy and pleasant. He always carried a book with him, and seasoned his conversation with religion. He had an aversion to all indecent or improper discourse; loved to be neat and clean in his apparel, furniture, entertainment, books, and whatever belonged to him; yet he despised all state and magnificence. Though it was then a custom for the higher clergy to appear in purple, his habit was only black. His upper garment was of plain woollen cloth, which, in cold weather, was lined with fur. Whatever he received by church preferments,

ferments, was delivered to his steward to be laid out in family occasions, or hospitality: and all that arose from his large paternal estate, was appropriated to pious and charitable uses."

Notwithstanding the dean's holy life, he could not escape the censure of an heretic; for having a great tenderness and compassion for the honest people who suffered as Lollards, he had the courage to interpose for one of them with the king, who granted him his life and liberty. This act of humanity exposed him to persecution from the bishop of London (a rigid Scotist and a virulent persecutor of the new sect) who accused the dean of heresy, and presented articles against him to the archbishop of Canterbury. But Warham well knew the worth and integrity of Colet: he defended therefore, and patronized him; nor would he give him the trouble of putting in any formal answer. It is also said, that the bishop would have made the dean a heretic for translating the Pater Noster into English, if the archbishop had not stood up in his defence.

But the troubles and persecutions which Colet underwent, only served to increase his charity and devotion. He had a plentiful estate, without any near relations; and he was resolved to consecrate the whole property of it to some permanent benefaction, in his life-time, as William of Wykeham had done at Winchester, in the reign of Edward III. The dean thought that it would promote the restoration and improvement of letters, to provide a grammar-school, for the instruction of youth in the two subsidiary languages of Latin and Greek. He apprehended this would be laying the best foundation for academical studies, particularly those of divinity; and conceived, that, in being the founder of one such grammar-school, he should be the restorer of the two universities; and London being

the place of his nativity, he deemed it most worthy of his intended charity; but the best account of this institution is given by Erasmus, who says, "He laid out a great part of his inheritance in building St. Paul's school, which is a magnificent fabric, dedicated to the child Jesus. Two dwelling-houses were added for the two masters, to whom ample salaries are allotted. The school is divided into four apartments: the boys have their distinct forms one above another; and every form holds sixteen. The wise founder saw, that the greatest hopes and happiness of commonwealths were in the training up of children to good letters and true religion; for which noble purpose he laid out an immense sum, and would admit no person to bear a share in the expence."

The founder has not clogged this noble seminary with any statute that might prevent it from being generally useful to the world. Children born in any part of the kingdom, even foreigners of all nations and countries, are capacitated to take part of its privileges. The wisdom of the founder is also very apparent, in giving liberty to declare the sense of his statutes in general, and to alter or correct, add or diminish, as should be thought proper and convenient, in future times, for the better government of the school.

These statutes were drawn up by the dean himself, in English; but with such a grave and pious strain, that they seem to have been wrote by one who was not of the communion of the Romish church. In the prologue he says, that "desiring nothyng more thanne education and bringing uppe children in good manners, and literature, in the yere of our Lorde A. M. fyve hundred and twelwe, he bylded a scole the estende of Paulis church, of CLIII. to be taught fre in the same. And ordained there a maister, and a surmaister, and a chapelyn, with

with sufficient and perpetual stipendes ever to endure; and set patrones and defenders, governours and rulers of that same scole, the most honest and faithfull fellowshipe of the mercers of London."

As dean Colet had been the pious founder of this school, so he also laboured to be the perpetual teacher and instructor of the scholars, by drawing up some rudiments of grammar, with an abridgment of the principles of religion, and published them for the standing use of Paul's school. It was called Paul's Accidence, and dedicated to William Lily, the first master, in a short elegant Latin epistle, dated the first of August, 1513. In this introduction to grammar, the dean prescribed some excellent rules for the admission and continuance of boys in his school, which were to be read over to the parents, when they first brought their children, for their assent to them, as the express terms and conditions of expecting any benefit of education there. The dean also prevailed on Erasmus to translate from the English, the institution of a Christian man, into Latin verse, briefly and plainly, for the easy apprehension and memory of the boys; which was to be the school catechism; with many other good essays, both in poetry and prose, towards directing and securing the principles and morals of his scholars: and Erasmus upon this occasion dedicated to him his two books "*De copia verborum ac rerum*," to form the style, and help the invention of young scholars, commending his piety and judgement in thus consulting and promoting the good of his country.

The troubles in which the dean had involved himself, by his zeal for the holy scriptures, and his attempts to produce a reformation in the lives of the clergy, in the reign of Henry VII. did not diminish his fortitude and public spirit, in that of his successor: for we have a remarkable instance on record

record of his manly freedom and intrepidity, and of the high degree of esteem in which he stood with Henry VIII. any opposition to whose inclinations was generally fatal. When that monarch was preparing for war against France, doctor Colet was appointed to preach before him at court; which he did, and in general terms inveighed so strongly against the impiety of going to war, that it was thought the preacher would have been sent to prison, or perhaps more severely punished. But the king sent for Colet, and was at so much pains to convince him of the necessity of the war he was entering upon, that the dean, in a second sermon upon the same subject, preached up the lawfulness, the piety, and expediency of war for the service of our country. This sermon pleased the king so much, that he gave the dean thanks, and, ever after, his countenance; saying to his nobles, who attended him, "Well, let every one chuse his own doctor, but this shall be mine." His majesty then took a glass of wine, and drank very graciously to the preacher's health, whom he dismissed with all the marks of affection, and promised him any favour he should ask for himself or friends.

Besides his dignities and preferments, already mentioned, doctor Colet was also rector of the fraternity or gild of Jesus in St. Paul's church: (for which he procured new statutes) one of the chaplains and preacher in ordinary to king Henry VIII. and, if Erasmus is not mistaken, of his privy council. When he came to about the fiftieth year of his age, he grew so weary of the world, that he fully designed to sequester himself in some monastery, and there pass the remainder of his days in peace and solitude: but the objections he had to the conduct of those establishments were invincible; wherefore, he built a convenient house, within the precinct of the Charter-house, near the palace

palace of Sheene in Surry, where he intended to retire in his old age, when unable to discharge the duties of his function. But death prevented him; for having been seized by that dreadful and epidemical disease called the sweating sickness, at two several times, he relapsed into it a third, which threw him into a consumption, and carried him off on the 16th of September, 1519, in the fifty-third year of his age. One of his physicians judged his disease to be the dropsy: but no extraordinary symptoms appeared upon opening the body, only that the capillary vessels of the liver had some pustular eruptions. His corpse was carried from Sheene to London, and, by the care of his aged mother, it was buried in the cathedral church of St Paul's with an humble monument, and only this inscription, designed by himself, Jo. Coletvs. However, the company of mercers, being willing to shew how much they valued him, erected another to his memory with his effigies; but that being destroyed by the great fire, all that now remains is, the description which Sir William Dugdale gives us of it, in his history of St. Paul's cathedral.

He wrote several things, but only the following were published before, and after his death. 1. *Oratio habita a doctore Johanne Colet, decano sancti Pauli, ad clerum in convocatione, anno 1511.* 2. *Rudimenta Grammatices &c.* called Paul's Accidence: this little manual, with some alterations, and great additions, now forms the syntax in Lily's common grammar. 3. *Monition to a godly life.* 4. *Daily devotions, or the christian's morning and evening sacrifice.* Some manuscript commentaries on St. Paul, and on the apostolical epistles, were found in an obscure corner of his study, but written in an illegible character, so that they were totally useless. In all probability, they were only
notes,

notes, from which he read his public lectures at Oxford.

The person of dean Colet, as described by Erasmus, was tall and comely, and he was blessed with an easy, polite address, which gave a grace to every thing he said or did. His learning was uncommon for the age he lived in, his piety exemplary, and his public spirit as a preacher unprecedented; but his salutary reproof of vice in high stations was conveyed in such strong arguments, untinctured with pride or moroseness, that it procured him advancement even under the reign of a most arbitrary prince, who put many of his subjects to death without mercy, for presuming to arraign his conduct. In a word, dean Colet was one of the brightest ornaments of this country, and of the age in which he lived, and must be remembered with gratitude, as one of the chief instruments in the hands of providence for bringing about the reformation of these kingdoms from Popery: his bold discourses from the pulpit on the abuses which had crept into the church, and the scandalous lives of the clergy, having opened the eyes of the nation; and his happy impulse to found a seminary of learning for youth, having given birth to that astonishing increase of those charitable foundations, which took place, within thirty years before that important and memorable event.

*** Authorities. *Life of Erasmus, Biographia Britan*: article, COLET. and Dr. Knight's life of Colet.

The LIFE of
CARDINAL WOLSEY.

[A. D. 1471. to 1530.]

THOMAS WOLSEY, afterwards the famous cardinal, affords us, in his life, one of the most extraordinary examples to be met with in history, of the vicissitudes of human events; who, being but the son of a butcher in the town of Ipswich in Suffolk, was, from that mean beginning, raised to the highest stations both in church and state: but, like an idol, set up by fortune, merely to shew her power, was again, in an instant, tumbled from all his greatness; and reduced even to a more wretched condition than that from which he was originally taken. 'Tis true, indeed, he enjoyed the advantage of a liberal education; for we find, that his father observing in him an uncommon aptness to learn, sent him by times to the grammar school; from whence, by means of his parents, who were people of property, and other good friends, he was removed to and maintained at the university of Oxford. Here he made a surprising progress, for, a few months after entering Magdalene college, and so early as his fifteenth year, Wolsey was made a bachelor of arts; in consequence of which he was called, The boy bachelor: He was then admitted to a fellowship in the same college; and in the end, nominated master of Magdalene school, where the sons of the
then

then marquis of Dorset were placed for their education.

This was a fortunate circumstance to the new preceptor; for the marquis, sending for his sons, on the succeeding Christmas, to pass the holidays at his country seat, invited the master to accompany them; and he was so highly pleased with Wolsey's conversation, who, to his universal knowledge, added a most insinuating address; and found the young gentlemen so much improved for the short time they had been under his care; that he determined to reward such merit and diligence with some distinguished mark of approbation: and a benefice in his lordship's gift falling vacant during the recess, he bestowed it on Wolsey, which was his first ecclesiastical preferment.

It was the rectory of Lymington in Somersetshire, to which he was instituted in 1500, being then in the 20th year of his age, and bursar of Magdalene college.

Wolsey quitted the university, to take possession of his living; but an incident happened very soon after, which made his new situation very disagreeable to him. He was of a free and sociable disposition, while he was seeking his advancement in the world; and therefore lived upon the most free and friendly terms with his parishioners, and the neighbouring gentlemen; by some of these, he was drawn to a fair at an adjacent town, where it is said, that being intoxicated with liquor, he occasioned a disturbance: upon which Sir Amias Pawlet, a justice of the peace, who had already taken a dislike to him, set him in the stocks.

This indignity, so dishonourable to a clergyman, Wolsey did not seem to resent at the time, but he neither forgot nor forgave it, for when he came to be lord high chancellor of England, he sent for Sir Amias to London; sharply reprimanded him
for

for his former indecent and disrespectful behaviour towards a clergyman ; and a person to whom, as a pastor, he owed obedience ; and ordered him, on no account to presume to quit the capital, without a licence first obtained : in consequence of which prohibition, that gentleman continued in the Middle Temple no less than six years ; though he endeavoured by many little acts of adulation and submission, to soften the chancellor's anger.

But, to return to the thread of our narrative. This mortifying accident gave Wolsey a distaste to Lymington ; and the death of his patron, the marquis of Dorset, which happened shortly after, finally determined him to leave it. The next situation we find him in, is, that of chaplain to Dr. Dean, archbishop of Canterbury ; a station to which the author of the British Antiquities is inclinable to think, Wolsey recommended himself by his own assiduity, rather than by the interest of others. Here he grew greatly in favour with the most reverend prelate, and by his means the name of Wolsey was for the first time mentioned at the court of Rome ; the pope, at the archbishop's request, granting his chaplain a dispensation to hold two benefices, a thing in those days very singular. However, this was the greatest advantage Wolsey reaped from his connection with Dr. Dean, who died in 1503, so that he was again obliged to look out for another patron.

A man of true genius, and proportionable industry, is seldom disappointed in any views on which he employs the whole strength of his understanding. Wolsey found in himself a particular inclination to a court-life ; and, from several of his expressions, it should seem as if he had been possessed with a notion of the grandeur, which awaited him in that sphere ; for he used to say,
“ If he could but set one foot in the court, he
“ would

“ would soon introduce his whole body ;” with this view he studiously attached himself to persons in power ; and having, during his residence in the west of England, contracted an acquaintance with Sir John Nephant, who, at the time of archbishop Dean’s death, was treasurer of Calais, and a great favourite of Henry VII. he thought he could not do better than offer his service to him ; and Sir John being about this time on his departure for Calais, appointed him to be his chaplain, and took him over to France, as one of his family. In this situation, Wolsey so effectually insinuated himself into the good graces of his new master, that Sir John committed to his care, the entire charge and management of his office ; in the administration of which he gave such satisfaction, not only to the treasurer, but to all persons who had any business to transact with him, that when Sir John obtained leave to resign, on account of his great age, and returned to England, he recommended Wolsey in such strong terms to the king, that he put him upon the list of Royal Chaplains.

Thus Wolsey at last cast anchor in his desired port ; and he did not scruple to say, that there were no advantages, however great, which he did not expect in consequence of that event. But as he knew that a bare settlement at court was not sufficient to secure a man’s future fortune, without a peculiar interest among the courtiers, he enquired out those who were most acceptable to the king ; and paid his devoirs with such success to Fox, bishop of Winchester, and Sir Thomas Lovel, the then reigning favourites, that they soon recommended him to the king, to perform a secret service, which gave him a fair opportunity to display his great political abilities, which was the basis of his future promotions.

In the year 1508, the king having resolved to enter into a secret negociation with the emperor Maximilian, who then resided at Bruges in Flanders, in order to settle some points previous to his intended marriage with Margaret, duchess dowager of Savoy, the emperor's only daughter; it put him upon enquiring for a proper person to entrust with this private embassy, and Wolsey was no sooner mentioned by Fox and Lovel, as one excellently qualified to perform the service Henry required, than the king commanded him immediately to be sent for; and on some private discourse, being fully satisfied of his capacity, his dispatches were ordered; and on the Sunday following, at four o'clock in the afternoon, he set forward from Richmond, at which place Henry VII. then kept his court.

But how was Henry surprized, in less than three days after, to see Wolsey present himself before him! Supposing he had protracted his departure, he at first began to reprove him for the dilatory execution of his orders; but Wolsey informed him (as was really the case, through many favourable circumstances which concurred in expediting his journey) that he was just returned from Bruges, and had successfully settled the negociation with which he was charged. "Ay!" said the king, "but, on second thoughts I found some-
 " what had been omitted in your instructions, and
 " I sent a messenger after you, with fuller pow-
 " ers." To which Wolsey replied, "That he
 " had indeed met the messenger on the road in his
 " return, and received the powers his majesty
 " mentioned; but having, during his stay at the
 " imperial court, preconceived the purport of
 " them, and the close connection that business
 " bore with his majesty's service, he had presum-
 " ed, on his own authority, to rectify what he
 " considered

“ considered as a mistake in his commission, and
 “ humbly implored pardon for daring to exceed it.”

Henry, was so well pleased with the expedient, and still more so with the success of the negociation; that he thanked him; declared in council, he was a man fit to be intrusted with the management of affairs of importance; and rewarded him with the deanery of Lincoln: and the prebendaries of Walton, Brinhold, and Stow. These preferments enabled him to resign the living of Lymington; and, to complete his good fortune, his graceful and eloquent relation of the particulars of his late embassy, before the council, attracted the notice of the Prince of Wales, who grew very fond of his company.

In 1509, Henry VII. died, and was succeeded by his son Henry VIII. who at his accession was only eighteen years of his age. A more favourable event could not possibly have happened for Wolsey; his firm friend Fox bishop of Winchester, having now a motive of interest as well as affection to induce him to forward his promotion. The influence which Fox had maintained in the cabinet, during the late reign, gave way to the ascendancy acquired over the young King, by the earl of Surrey: the crafty prelate introduced Wolsey to a great familiarity with his new master, in the double view of opposing his rival, and of supporting his interest in the cabinet by acting under him. In consequence of this plan, in the first year of the reign of Henry VIII. Wolsey was appointed the king's almoner, and upon the conviction of Sir Richard Empson, one of the corrupt judges in the late reign, the king gave him that rapacious minister's house, near his own palace of Bridewell, in Fleet street, with several lands and tenements appertaining to the forfeited estate. The following year 1510, he was admitted of the king's privy council:

council : made reporter of the proceedings in the star-chamber : canon of Windsor, and register of the order of the garter. Thus firmly seated, he soon convinced his patron, that he had mistaken his character, for he totally supplanted both Surry and Fox, in the king's favour.

It may now be necessary to trace the means by which Wolsey gained the entire confidence of his royal master, and the sole management of public affairs. "The young king, who had been kept, under much restraint by his father, was now greatly disposed, says Cavendish, to give a loose to pleasure, and to follow his princely appetite and desire. His old and faithful counsellors would, however, occasionally advise him to attend more to the public concerns of the nation, and to the duties of his regal character ; but the almoner took upon him to discharge the king of the burthen of such weighty and troublesome business, putting him in comfort, that he should not need to spare any time of his pleasure, for any business that should happen in the council, so long as he should be there ; who having his grace's authority, and by his commandment, doubted not to see all things well and sufficiently perfected, making his grace privy first of all such matters, before he would proceed, to the accomplishing of the same, whose mind and pleasure, he would follow to the uttermost : wherewith the king was wonderfully pleased."

But in the year 1513, Wolsey gave such a striking proof of his extensive capacity in the management of state affairs, even in the military department, that Henry from that time placed an unlimited confidence in his new minister. A war with France, having been resolved upon in council, the king determined to invade that kingdom in person, and committed to Wolsey the care of furnishing

nishing and providing, the formidable fleet and army employed upon that occasion; and Wolsey, though the task to him was new, and to any one must have been difficult, took it upon him without repining, to shew that he would not scruple his sovereign's commands in any thing.

Henry was earnestly solicited by Pope Julius II. to enter into this war against Lewis XII. of France, the Pope's avowed enemy, and it is shrewdly conjectured that Wolsey advised it, as a means of recommending himself to the court of Rome; and Henry the more readily consented, as he had in view the old claims of the kings of England, to the crown of France. The diligence and dispatch therefore with which the preparations for this expedition were completed, so highly pleased the king, that he gave Wolsey the deanery of Hereford, and made him chancellor of the order of the garter.

Henry arrived at Calais on the 30th of June 1513, accompanied by the principal officers of his court, and his favourite Wolsey. The greatest part of his army had landed before him, and were laying siege to *Terouenne*. The king soon joined them, and during the siege the emperor Maximilian arrived in the English camp, with a considerable reinforcement, entered into Henry's service, wearing the cross of St. George, and received one hundred crowns daily for his pay. Soon after, the English fell in with a convoy of provisions and ammunition for the use of the besieged, and these being attacked, a general engagement ensued, when the French were totally defeated by Henry and the Emperor; the consternation of the French was so great, that they fled with the utmost precipitation, and the cavalry making more use of their spurs, than of their swords, this engagement was called, *The battle of the spurs*. *Terouenne* surrendered in consequence of this victory; Henry en-

tered it in triumph, and delivered it up to Maximilian, who ordered the walls to be razed to the foundation, that the dominions of his grandson Charles of Austria, might not be exposed to insults from the garrison of this fortress.

Henry then laid siege to *Tournay* which capitulated in a few days; and the bishop refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the English sovereign, the bishopric was given by the king to Wolsey, who held it five years, and when the city was restored to France, he obtained an annual pension from the French king, in lieu of the bishopric.

Soon after the surrender of *Tournay*, Henry concluded a new treaty with the emperor, which was ratified at *Lille*, he then embarked for England, where he arrived in October, after a most glorious campaign; and in the following year Wolsey was promoted first, to the see of *Lincoln*, and then, to the Archbishopric of *York*, on the death of Cardinal *Bainbridge*.

Much about this time, the duke of *Norfolk*, finding the exchequer almost exhausted, was glad to resign his office of treasurer, and retire from court. Fox, bishop of *Winchester*, partly overcome by years and infirmities, and partly disgusted at the ascendant acquired by Wolsey (though we do not find in what the cardinal ever slackened his respect or affection towards his old benefactor) likewise withdrew himself entirely to the care of his diocese. The duke of *Suffolk* also had taken offence, that the king, by the favourite's persuasion, had refused to pay a debt, which he had contracted during his abode in France; and he thenceforth affected to live in privacy. These incidents left Wolsey without a rival, and his power over the king became absolute; though, when Fox, before his retirement, warned Henry "not to suffer the servant to be greater than his master;" that prince

prince replied, "That he knew well how to retain all his subjects in obedience."

But it was a master-stroke of policy in our artful prelate, that while he secretly directed all public councils, he still pretended a blind submission to the royal will; by that means concealing from his sovereign, whose imperious temper would otherwise have ill brooked a director, the absolute power he was gaining over him. And Henry, in nothing more violent than his attachments, while they lasted, thought he could never sufficiently reward a man so entirely devoted to his pleasure and service. In consequence of this, Wolsey held at one time such a multitude of preferments, as no churchman besides himself was ever endowed with; he was even suffered to unite with the see of York, the bishoprics of Durham and Winchester, with the rich abbey of St. Albans; and now the pope observing the daily progress he made in the king's favour, and that in fact he governed the nation, being desirous of engaging so powerful a minister in the interest of the apostolic state, to complete his exaltation at once, created him a cardinal in 1515, under the title of St. Cecilia, beyond the Tiber.

The grandeur which Wolsey assumed upon this new acquisition of dignity, is hardly to be paralleled; the splendor of his equipage, and costliness of his apparel, exceeds all description. He caused his cardinal's hat to be borne aloft by a person of rank; and, when he came to the king's chapel, would permit it to be laid on no place but the altar. A priest, the tallest and most comely he could find, carried before him a pillar of silver, on the top of which was placed a cross; but not content with this parade to which he thought himself entitled as cardinal, he provided another priest of equal stature and beauty, who marched along, bearing the cross of York, even in the diocese of

Canterbury; contrary to the ancient rule and agreement between those rival metropolitans. The people indeed made merry with the cardinal's ostentation upon this occasion; and said they were now sensible, that one cross alone was not sufficient for the expiation of his offences. But Warham, chancellor, and archbishop of Canterbury, having frequently remonstrated against this affront to no purpose, chose rather to retire from public employment, than wage an unequal contest with the haughty cardinal. He resigned his office of chancellor therefore, and the seals were immediately intrusted to Wolsey; who upon this new promotion, added to his former parade, four footmen carrying gilt pole-axes, a gentleman to carry the great seal before him, and an additional train of attendants, who rode on horse back, but the chancellor himself was mounted upon a mule, caparisoned with crimson velvet. In this state, he resorted every Sunday to the court at Greenwich, from York-house, now Whitehall.

The cardinal, while he was only almoner to the king, had rendered himself extremely unpopular, by his sentences in the star-chamber, a most arbitrary and unconstitutional court, where he presided, and gave every thing as his master would have it, without any respect to the justice of the cause. But now that he was lord high chancellor of England, he made full amends, by discharging that great office with as penetrating a judgment, and as enlarged a knowledge of law and equity, as any of his predecessors or successors.

But Wolsey to increase his power over the clergy, as well as the laity, sought for further ecclesiastical promotion, and in this, as in every thing else, he soon succeeded. Cardinal Campeggio had been sent as a legate into England, in order to procure a tythe from the clergy, for enabling the Pope to oppose

oppose the progress of the Turks, a danger which was real and formidable to all Christendom, but had been so often made use of to serve the interested purposes of the court of Rome, that it had lost all influence on the minds of the people; the clergy refused to comply with Leo's demand; Campeggio therefore was recalled in 1516, and the king desired of the pope, that Wolsey, who had been joined in this commission, might alone be invested with the legantine power, together with the right of visiting all the clergy, and monasteries; and even with suspending the whole laws of the church during a twelve-month.

This additional honour was no sooner obtained, than Wolsey made a still greater display of pomp and magnificence. On solemn feast-days he was not contented without saying mass after the manner of the pope himself: he had not only bishops and abbots to serve him; but even engaged the first nobility to give him water and a towel; and Warham the primate having wrote him a letter, where he subscribed himself, "Your loving brother," Wolsey complained of his presumption, in challenging such an equality: upon Warham's being told however of the offence he had given, he made light of it, saying, "know ye not that this man is drunk with too much power?" but Wolsey carried the matter much farther than vain pomp and ostentation. He erected an office, which he called the legantine court; in which, if credit may be given to lord Herbert, whose words we make use of, he exercised a most odious and tyrannical jurisdiction; and he rendered it still more obnoxious, by appointing one John Allen to be the judge, a man of scandalous life, whom he himself, as chancellor, had condemned for perjury. This wretch committed all sorts of rapine and extortion: for, making an enquiry into the life of every

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body,

body, no offence escaped censure and punishment; unless privately bought off; in which people found two advantages; one, that it cost less; the other, that it exempted them from shame. Thus, as the rules of conscience are in many cases, of greater extent than those of law, he found means of searching into their most secret concerns; besides, under this colour, he arrogated a power to call in question the executors of wills, and the like. He summoned also all religious persons (of what degree soever) before him; who, casting themselves at his feet, were grievously chided, and terrified with expulsion, till they had compounded; besides that, all spiritual livings which fell were conferred on his creatures.

No one dared carry to the king any complaint against these usurpations of Wolsey, till Warham ventured to do it; Henry professed his ignorance of the whole matter, "A man (said he) is not so blind any where as in his own house. But do you go to Wolsey, and tell him, if any thing be amiss, that he amend it." A reproof of this kind was not likely to be minded, and in effect only served to augment Wolsey's enmity to Warham, whom he had never loved since the dispute about erecting his crosses; however, one London having prosecuted the legate's judge in a court of law, and convicted him of malversation and iniquity, the clamour at last reached the king's ears, who rebuked the cardinal so sharply, that from that time he became, if not better, more wary than before.

The cardinal was now building himself a very magnificent palace at Hampton Court, whither sometimes he retired as well to mark the progress of the work, as to procure a short recess from the fatigues of his business; which at that time was very great, considering that, over and above what

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immediately related to his archbishopric, his elegant character, and his place of chancellor, he had all the affairs of the nation on his hands; yet the public tranquillity was so well established, and the general administration of justice, through his means, so exact, that ease and plenty blest the land, in a manner unknown for many preceding reigns. This happy disposition at home, led Henry, in the year 1520, to give way to the solicitations of Francis the First, king of France; and he consented to an interview with that monarch, which was to be between Guienne and Arden; the kings, by mutual consent, committing the regulation of the ceremonial to the cardinal's discretion.

The occasion of this interview was, the death of Maximilian, which happened, the preceding year, and the kings of France and Spain being competitors for the imperial throne, separately paid their court to Wolsey, to engage his master in their interest; and the politic Wolsey encouraged both, receiving from them very rich presents and pensions. These rivals were Francis I. and the famous Charles V. or *Charles le Quint* who was elected emperor; and who having other grounds for a rupture with Francis, came over to England privately, after his election, by the cardinal's connivance, to divert Henry from this famous interview; Charles met the king at Dover, but all he could obtain was, a promise from Henry, that nothing should be transacted between him and the king of France, prejudicial to his interest. The cardinal was now caressed and flattered by most of the powers of Europe: the senate of Venice in particular, addressed him in a letter, in which they felicitated him on the fortunate conduct of an event that required the most consummate prudence; the pope too gave him very strong testimonies of his approbation, granting him a yearly pension of 2000

ducats, and constituting him perpetual administrator of the bishopric of Bajadox.

By these extensive subsidies from foreign courts, and the unlimited munificence of his own sovereign, who was continually loading him with spiritual and temporal monopolies, Wolsey's income is reported to have fallen little short of the revenues of the crown of England. This was a circumstance sufficient to raise the ambition of a man, naturally so aspiring as the cardinal, to any height.

Upon the death of pope Leo X. 1520, he thought of nothing less than being possessed of St. Peter's chair; and immediately dispatched a secretary with proper instructions to Rome; at the same time writing to the emperor, and the king of France, to assure them, that if he was elected supreme Pontiff, they should meet with such friendly and equitable treatment as they could expect from no other quarter. The former of these princes indeed, was bound by promises which he had repeatedly given him, to assist Wolsey in procuring the papacy; but before the messenger arrived at Rome, the election was over, and Adrian, bishop of Tortosa, who had been the emperor's tutor, was chosen; though Wolsey, upon different scrutinies, had nine, twelve, and nineteen voices.

He was, probably, chagrined at the behaviour of Charles V. who had openly violated his word with him; yet smothering his resentment for the present, when the emperor made a second visit to England, (partly to appease him, whom he feared to have offended) the cardinal very readily accepted his excuses; and on Adrian's death, which happened some years after, he applied again for Charles's interest, which was positively engaged to him for the next vacancy: but though this application was backed by a recommendatory letter under

Henry

Henry's own hand; and Wolsey knowing the power of gold in the conclave, had taken care to work sufficiently with that engine; his hopes, however, of the pontificate were a second time rendered abortive; chiefly owing to his absence, and his reliance on the emperor; who never intended he should be pope, though, he had settled an annual pension upon him; and at different times treated him with the utmost complaisance and distinction, styling him, in his letters, "our most dear and special friend."

In the year 1521, in an assembly of prelates and clergy, held at York-house, the doctrines of Luther were condemned: forty-two of his errors were enumerated, and cardinal Wolsey published the pope's bull against Luther, and ordered all persons, on pain of excommunication, to bring in all the books of Luther in their hands. But though Wolsey was thus concerned in causing the doctrines of Luther to be condemned, it appears by an article of his impeachment, that he was no persecutor of heretics; for he is accused of remissness on that head, by means of which Lutheranism had gained ground.

The pride and ostentation of the cardinal together with his unbounded power, had raised him many powerful enemies, especially amongst the nobility, whom he affected to treat with arrogance and contempt. This behaviour was openly resented by Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, the only courtier who ventured to oppose him. Wolsey therefore resolved to sacrifice this great man, whose discontent he apprehended might have some effect upon the king. The duke of Buckingham was one of the greatest subjects of the kingdom, highly in favour with the people, and in possession of a post, which gave him a power of controuling the actions even of the sovereign. He was hereditary

high constable of England, an office, which was abolished at his death, and perhaps was one cause of hastening it: for Henry had often expressed his jealousy of Buckingham's official authority. Indeed, the ceremonial observed by the high constable at the coronation, had been very disgusting to this arbitrary prince; it was customary for the constable to receive a sword from our kings, which holding in his hand, he pronounced aloud; "With this sword, I will defend thee against all thine enemies, if thou governeest according to law; and with this sword, I, and the people of England will depose thee, if thou breakest thy coronation oath." The duke having let fall some imprudent expressions in private company, that if the king should die without issue, he would lay claim to the crown, as the descendant of Ann of Gloucestre, granddaughter to Edward III. in which case he would punish Wolsey according to his demerits; the cardinal by his spies obtained farther intelligence from the duke's domestics, of his corresponding with one Hopkins a monk, and pretended prophet, who had given him hopes of succeeding to the crown. This indiscretion, combining with the nature of his office, and his public disapprobation of the favourite, revived Henry's suspicions, and prevented him from discovering that the duke was a devoted victim to the cardinal's resentment. Wolsey having collected materials for an impeachment, and deprived the duke of his two principal friends, the earl of Northumberland his father-in-law, whom he had committed to the tower, on a slight pretext; and the earl of Surry his son-in-law, whom he had sent governor to Ireland; he caused him to be arrested, and accused of high treason, of which being convicted by a very thin and partial house of peers, he was beheaded on the 13th of May; and from this moment Wolsey lost the little remaining credit he

he had with the people of England, who openly libelled him for this act of tyrannic cruelty. The emperor upon hearing of the duke's death, said, "that the butcher's dog had worried the fairest hart in England."

At this period, the emperor and the French being at variance, made Henry the umpire to decide their quarrel. Upon this occasion, the king sent Wolsey in quality of mediator, in his name, and vested with full power to treat with the plenipotentiaries of the contending princes at Calais. The conferences were opened on the 4th of August, but Wolsey countenanced the emperor in such unreasonable demands, that the French ministers rejected them, and Wolsey then paid a visit to the emperor at Bruges, where he was received with all the honours due to royalty, and concluded an offensive alliance, in his master's name with the emperor against France. Henry by this treaty promised to invade France the following summer, with 40000 men, and betrothed to the emperor, the princess Mary, the king's only child. If any thing could have disgraced the cardinal at this time, this extravagant alliance must have effected it; being not only contrary to the true interests of the kingdom, but having a tendency to render it dependant on the emperor, by his marrying the heirs of the crown. War was declared against France in 1522, and this shameful treaty, proved in the end, one cause of the cardinal's disgrace: for in order to maintain the incidental charges of the war, the king, by the advice of Wolsey, exacted a general loan from his subjects, amounting to one tenth of the effects of the laity, and one fourth of those of the clergy; which, says Rapin, excited general clamours against the cardinal throughout the kingdom, but on the tax being more gently levied, than it was at first intended, the storm blew over for the present.

present. Though another event occasioned some fruitless complaints against him.

Among other branches of erudition, he founded the first Greek professorship at Oxford, but not thinking that a sufficient mark of his esteem, in the year 1525, he determined to build a college, as a lasting monument of his zeal and gratitude towards the seminary in which he had received his education; and having obtained the royal assent to commence his projected foundation, the first stone of that magnificent structure, then called Cardinal, but now Christ's college Oxford, was laid, with a superscription in honour of the founder; the cardinal at the same time building a grammar school at Ipswich, the place of his nativity, to qualify young scholars for admittance to it.

But in the prosecution of these schemes he struck upon a dangerous rock; for having raised his college on the site of a priory, dissolved and given him by the king for that purpose, he also procured authority to suppress several monasteries in different parts of the kingdom, in order to support his new society. Indeed the pope's bulls, which were sent over to confirm these grants, had often been a sanction for committing much greater offences; however, his seizing upon the revenues of religious houses, was looked upon as sacrilege; and the king for the first time openly approving the discontent of the people against him, several satires were published, reflecting on Wolsey's conduct. However, it does not appear that he thought it worth his while to enquire after any of the authors, notwithstanding Skelton, the poet laureat, was so apprehensive on account of some scurrilous verses of his writing, that he took refuge in the sanctuary, to avoid the cardinal's resentment.

Wolsey however, about this time, had gained a fresh ascendancy over his sovereign by a secret tie,
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known only to a very few persons about the court: for in the course of this year, a young lady was introduced at the English court, the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, or Bullen; who having been formerly in the service of the queen of France, Henry's sister, was received by queen Catherine as one of her maids of honour. It is said, the king no sooner saw her, than he was struck with her beauty; however, his passion lay concealed for some time, and was first discovered by the following accident.

The cardinal's revenue, and manner of living, in all respects, equaled the state of a sovereign prince. His household consisted of eight hundred persons, many of whom were knights and gentlemen, and even some of the nobility fixed their children in his family, as a place of education, suffering them to bear offices as his domestics. Among these was the earl of Northumberland, whose son, the lord Percy, frequently attending the cardinal to court, had there an opportunity of conversing with the ladies: and he addressed Mrs. Bullen in particular, with so much persuasive eloquence, that in the end he gained her affections, and they were privately affianced to each other. Yet was not their amour conducted so secretly but it came to the king's ears; the violence of his temper immediately broke out; he ordered Wolsey to send for the earl of Northumberland; and the young nobleman being severely rebuked by his father for the indiscretion he had been guilty of, the affair ended in a formal dissolution of the contract; the marriage of lord Percy to a daughter of the earl of Shrewsbury's; and the dismissal of Ann Bullen from court to her relations in the country. But the impetuosity of the king's passion daily increasing, he could not long bear her out of his sight; she was therefore recalled from her banishment;

ment; but prior to that event, a remarkable circumstance happened, which gave rise to the subsequent proceedings in relation to the divorce, and was another cause of Wolsey's disgrace.

In the year 1527, ambassadors came from France in order to conclude several treaties between Henry, who had abandoned the emperor's party, and the French king; one of which was, that Francis, or his son the duke of Orleans, should espouse the princess Mary, Henry's only daughter; the commissioners met several times, and adjusted all points to mutual satisfaction; but in proceeding upon this article, some dispute arose. The bishop of Tarboe, one of the French king's plenipotentiaries said, "he could not help having some doubts about the princess Mary's legitimacy, on account of her being the daughter of queen Catherine, who had formerly been married to prince Arthur:" and in short, he gave broad hints, that the king had committed an unlawful act in marrying his brother's widow: whether this objection was started by previous agreement, in order to serve the king's secret purposes, we cannot say: however, it is certain he made a handle of it, to excuse his subsequent proceedings; and from this time openly avowing his affections to Ann Bullen, the courtiers worshipped her as the rising sun, through whose influence alone, the royal favour was to be raised and cultivated.

Wolsey could not be blind to the progress this fair favourite was making in his master's heart; though in all probability he at first thought the king meant no more than to have an intrigue with her, with respect to which kind of intercourse, it is well known, his eminency entertained not the most evangelical notions; he bowed with the croud therefore, and left nothing untried that might engage the new mistress to his interest; but

when

when he found by some words his majesty let fall, that not being able to obtain the favours he sought from her, on any other terms than those of wedlock, he was determined at all events, to gratify his passion; there was no argument possible to divert the king from his intention, that the cardinal did not use; nay, he often repeated his prayers and intreaties on his knees: but his zeal was far from being pleasing to Henry, who could not bear any thing like restraint; and this opposition to her advancement, may also account for the ill will Ann Bullen afterwards bore the cardinal: though, upon her second appearance in the royal family, she for some time carried it very fairly towards him; and wrote him several kind and respectful letters, which are yet to be seen under her own hand.

It is not to be wondered at, that the cardinal's secret enemies at court, should embrace so favourable an opportunity as this appeared, to undermine a man, they durst not openly attack; for it was dangerous meddling with Henry, where his prepossessions were to be removed: they pitched upon Ann Bullen, therefore, (whose aversion to Wolsey they were not unacquainted with) as the properest engine to work with: and an occasion offering shortly after, to remove the minister at a distance from the king, they took care to improve that advantage as the most necessary measure for promoting the success of their designs. This year, the wars in Italy had been carried to great extremity, the city of Rome was sacked by German soldiers, and Clement VII. was actually in captivity to the emperor: both Henry and his premier expressed great uneasiness at this disaster, and the cardinal having distinguished himself in several embassies to foreign princes, his foes in the council

council proposed, that he should be sent ambassador at the present critical juncture, in order to induce the court of France to mediate for the pope's release, Francis I. having made his peace with the emperor, as well as to settle some other matters, more immediately relative to the state of the nation.

Whether Wolfey was aware of the plot laid against him, is not certain; he had undoubtedly an eager desire to serve the Roman pontiff; and perhaps thought himself too firmly riveted in his master's esteem, to be shaken by the cabals of a faction. Be this as it will, on the 11th of July he left London, with a numerous and splendid retinue; the furniture of the mule on which he himself rode, being richly embroidered with bits and stirrups of massy gold. But to give a circumstantial account of this transaction, would afford very little entertainment to the reader, who may find it at large in all our English histories: we shall only observe therefore, that the cardinal at this time concluded a most advantageous treaty with France; that he was entertained on the continent with a magnificence hardly to be paralleled; and that having staid on his embassy about two months, he returned home, where, in spite of the endeavours of his enemies in his absence, he was received by the king with the warmest marks of esteem and approbation.

After this embassy, the king's attachment to him seemed to increase; for, besides acknowledging the great service the cardinal had done in that affair, in a letter under the royal hand and seal, he was pleased to appoint a public thanksgiving on the occasion, going himself with his queen, and great numbers of the nobility and gentry, to St. Paul's church; and afterwards in grand procession to dine with the cardinal. It was in consequence

sequence of this embassy also, that he bestowed on Wolsey the rich bishopric of Winchester; and upon the sickness of Clement VII. the legate endeavouring a third time for the triple crown, he recommended him so strenuously, that there is hardly any doubt to be made of the king's serious inclination to raise him to the popedom; and had not his holiness, unexpectedly recovered, it is highly probable that the cardinal of York, would at this time have enjoyed the object of his wishes.

In the same year that Wolsey had been into France, and not many weeks after his return, the French king sent ambassadors to Henry, in order to ratify the treaties made between the two crowns. On this occasion, Wolsey took upon him to regulate the reception given to the foreigners, and certainly, if we may credit the report of Cavendish, who was an eye-witness to all that passed during their stay in England, these ambassadors were entertained with a cost and sumptuousness utterly unknown to modern times; banquets, balls, tournaments, distinguished every day; and as it was one of the last efforts of his ministerial splendor, we shall insert the particulars of one of the magnificent and sumptuous entertainments given by the cardinal at Hampton-court, to these ambassadors of Francis I. "The cardinal having commanded his purveyors to spare no expence or pains; the appointed day being come, the company assembled about noon, from which time, till that of supper, they hunted in one of the king's parks, within three miles of Hampton; on their return, which was not till evening, every person was conveyed to a different apartment, each being furnished with fire and wine; and no less than two hundred and eighty
" beds,

“ beds, in the whole, where they stayed till
 “ they were summoned to the banqueting rooms.

“ These were all set out in a very splendid
 “ manner, being hung with cloth of gold and
 “ silver, and having rich lustres descending from
 “ the ceilings, with large sconces of silver, gilt,
 “ and filled with wax lights, which were fixed a-
 “ gainst the walls. But the presence-chamber
 “ exceeded all the rest; where was fixed a sumptuous
 “ canopy, under which was the table placed
 “ by itself for the cardinal; here were the great
 “ bouffets and side-boards loaded with gold and silver
 “ plate, which cast such a brightness by the reflection
 “ of the tapers, as was quite astonishing: here also
 “ the gentlemen of the cardinal’s household, richly
 “ dressed, waited to serve, and all things thus prepared,
 “ the trumpets being sounded, the guests came in to supper; which
 “ consisted of such abundance, both of different
 “ meats and cookery, as surprised the French ambassadors,
 “ who were so charmed with the splendour of what they
 “ saw, and the sweetness of the music they heard
 “ playing on every side of them, that they seemed
 “ wrapt in heavenly paradise.

“ Now all this time the cardinal was absent; but
 “ on the appearance of the second course, he suddenly
 “ came in among them booted and spurred; all the
 “ company attempted to rise: but his eminency desiring
 “ they would keep their places, he sat down at his
 “ own table in his riding dress, as he was, and grew as merry
 “ and agreeable as he ever had been known in his life.
 “ This second course (Clarendon observes) must have
 “ been the finest thing the Frenchmen ever saw; but
 “ the rarest curiosity in it (adds he) at which they all
 “ wondered, and indeed was worthy of wonder, was a
 “ castle with images in the same, like St. Paul’s church,
 “ for the model of it,

" it, where were beasts, birds, fowls, personages
 " most excellently made, some fighting with
 " swords, some with guns, others with cross-
 " bows, some dancing with ladies, some on horse-
 " back with compleat armour, justing with long
 " and sharp spears, and many other strange de-
 " vices, which I cannot describe. Amongst all I
 " noted, there was a chess board, made of spice-
 " plate, with men of the same, and of good pro-
 " portion. And because the Frenchmen are very
 " expert at that sport, my lord cardinal gave that
 " same to a French gentleman, commanding that
 " there should be made a good case to convey the
 " same into his country.

" Then the cardinal called for a great gold cup
 " filled with wine; and pulling off his cap, said,
 " I drink a health to the king my sovereign, and
 " next unto the king your master. And when he
 " had taken a hearty draught, he desired the prin-
 " cipal ambassador to pledge him. And so all the
 " lords pledged the health in order. Thus was
 " the night spent in great harmony and good hu-
 " mour, till many of the company were obliged
 " to be led to their beds; and the next day hav-
 " ing stayed to dine with the cardinal, the am-
 " bassadors departed towards Windsor, where they
 " were treated, before their going into their own
 " country, in a manner still more magnificent, by
 " the king."

But nothing more plainly shews the good
 terms on which Wolsey stood with his master,
 after his last return from France, than the fre-
 quent visits Henry paid him at his palace at
 Hampton-court; which, in the year 1528, was
 completely finished, and elegantly furnished. His
 majesty was greatly taken both with the situation,
 and beauty of the edifice: upon this Wolsey very
 generously made him a present of it; and the king
 highly

highly pleased with the gift, gave him in return, his royal palace of Richmond.

Thus we have conducted Wolsey from his birth, to the utmost summit of his fortune; we must now follow him again down the hill, in which, as it generally happens, his progress was much more rapid than in going up, even expeditious as was his ascent.

“ Queen Catherine’s years adding to her temper, which was naturally grave, made her now become more distasteful than ever to king Henry; his passion for Ann Bullen too, who finding the love he had for her, managed her attractions with the utmost art of coquetry, was greatly augmented; so that fluctuating between the thoughts of a mistress and a wife, Henry was so entangled, that, rather than be disappointed of the one, he resolved to rid himself of the other.” Cardinal Wolsey saw it was in vain to put this notion out of his head; not caring therefore to engage too far in so weighty a business alone, he, with the king’s permission, by his own legantine authority, issued writs to summon all the bishops, with the most learned men of both universities, to consult on his majesty’s case; but these counsellors thinking the point too nice for them to determine, in the end, the pope was applied to, who, in compliance with the king’s request, sent cardinal Campeggio into England, that he might, in conjunction with Wolsey, sit in judgment, and decide whether Henry’s marriage with Catherine was lawful or not. But first, the king called an assembly of all the great men in the kingdom, both spiritual and temporal, besides others of inferior degree, and made them a speech, in which he endeavoured to account for and excuse the proceedings he was going upon, laying the greatest stress upon conscience, and the dreadful horrors

horrors of mind he had suffered ever since the French ambassadors had questioned the lady Mary's legitimacy, which made him fear that a marriage with his brother's relict was by divine law prohibited: however, he said, he submitted every thing to the wisdom of the pope's legates, who were authorized by his holiness to determine this important cause; and the measures he was already determined to take being thus artfully prepared, the legantine court was opened on the 21st of June following.

But the circumstances of this famous trial are well known. The queen being a woman of a resolute mind, protested against the legates, as incompetent judges; she appealed to the king for her conjugal fidelity; went out of court, and would never return to it more. The legates went on according to the forms of law, though the queen appealed from them to the pope, and excepted both to the place, to the judges, and her lawyers. The king would not suffer the cause to be removed to Rome, and Campeggio left England. But these accidents fell in a regular series; and many attempts were made to bring the queen to an easy compliance with his majesty's pleasure, though in vain; from hence it followed, that the public was divided; some pitied Henry, but more had compassion for Catherine: and as Wolsey had now brought himself by his pride into universal odium with the people, while the abettors of the divorce charged all the difficulties laid in its way to his artifice; the partizans on the other side were as unanimous in condemning him, for prompting his master to so iniquitous a piece of violence: but of this last charge the cardinal fully cleared himself, by calling on king Henry, in open court, to witness to his innocence; when the king declared, he had always advised him against it, which indeed he might do with a safe conscience; and for that reason

reason he was jealous of Wolsey's being a secret agent in the protraction of the cause; for which he consigned him to distraction.

Indeed it was apparent, on the breaking up of the court, that Wolsey had nothing favourable to expect from that quarter; for the duke of Suffolk, by the king's direction, coming towards the bench where Wolsey and Campeggio sat, said, with a haughty tone and furious countenance, "It was never thus in England till we had cardinals among us." To which cardinal Wolsey soberly replied; "Sir, of all men in this realm, you have the least cause to dispraise cardinals; for if I, poor cardinal, had not been, you should not at this present have had a head upon your shoulders;" alluding to the duke's marriage with the king's sister, which at first greatly incensed Henry.

On the avocation of his cause to Rome, the king was not only enraged, but afflicted: and Hall, Stow, Rapin, and Burnet, affirm, that he resolved on a progress into the country, thereby to dispel his melancholy: for that end he set out, attended by his royal retinue; and coming to Grafton in Northamptonshire, he was there attended by Wolsey and Campeggio, the latter of whom came to take his leave before he returned into Italy. This was on a Sunday; and there were many wagers laid among the courtiers, that the king would not speak to cardinal Wolsey. But here his foes were disappointed; the king not only spoke to him, but received him with a smiling countenance: and having talked to him some time aside at the window, he said, "Go to your dinner, and take my lord cardinal to keep you company, and after dinner I will talk with you farther." With which words Henry retired to dine with Ann Bullen, who was with him in his progress, and the cardinals sat down at a table prepared in the presence-chamber for them,

them, and other lords. There is something curious in the account which Cavendish gives us, from one of the persons, who waited at table, of the king and his mistress's discourse at dinner; it referred to Wolsey; and Ann Bullen being as angry as she durst at the king's gracious behaviour to him, she said, "Sir, Is it not a marvellous thing, to see into what great debt and danger he hath brought you with all your subjects?" How so, replied the king. Forsooth, said she, there is not a man in all your whole realm of England to whom he hath not indebted you. Which words she spoke, because the king had formerly, through the cardinal's advice, raised money on the people by way of loan, which had been a very unpopular measure; but the king exculpated his minister, by saying, "Well, well, for that matter there was no blame in him; for I know it better than you, or any else." "Nay, but (cried the lady) besides that, what exploits hath he wrought in several parts of this realm? There is never a nobleman, but, if he had done as much as he hath done, were well worthy to lose his head; nay, if my lord of Norfolk, my lord of Suffolk, or my father, had done much less, they should have lost their heads ere this." "Then I perceive (said the king) you are none of my lord cardinal's friends." "Why, Sir, (answered she) I have no cause, nor any that love you; no more hath your grace, if you did well consider his indirect and unlawful doings." During this conversation in the king's chamber, the cardinal was not treated with much less asperity by the duke of Norfolk without; so that every hand appeared ready to pull down a falling favourite, though the king consulted with him four hours that same evening, which vexed many; but, at night, when the cardinal's servants came to prepare a lodging for him, they were told there was no room: so that his eminency was obliged

obliged to lie at the house of one Mr. Empston, at some distance in the country; and in the morning, when he came to court (tho' he had his majesty's command to attend him over night) he found the king just ready to mount his horse, who, without taking any farther notice, coldly ordered him to consult with the lords of the council. This was contrived by Ann Bullen, who rode out with the king; and in order to prevent his majesty's return before the cardinal went away, she took care to provide an entertainment for him at Hanwell-park.

The king had no sooner left Wolsey in this abrupt manner, than the cardinal saw his prosperity was at an end; but he was too wise to expote himself to the raillery of the courtiers, by appearing humbled or terrified at his approaching disgrace. Immediately after dinner he set out with his colleague for London, from whence, in a few days, Campeggio took his journey to Rome. But a report prevailing, that in his baggage he had concealed, and was carrying off, a considerable treasure belonging to cardinal Wolsey, the custom-house officers, by the king's order, stopt him at Dover, and made so thorough a search, that the legate complained of the insult offered to his character, though to no other purpose than to receive a rebuke from the king, for daring to assume any character in his dominions, without his particular licence; so that the Italian prelate was glad to get off unmolested at any rate: as for Wolsey, though he had the king's commission for acting as legate in England, that was afterwards brought against him, among a number of other crimes, very little better founded; and such was the king's eagerness to begin with him, that he had scarce patience to wait till Campeggio set sail.

It was now term-time, and Wolsey, on the first day, went to the court of chancery, in his usual state,

state, but after that, never sat there more. On the 18th of October 1529, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk came to his house at Westminster, and in the king's name demanded the great seal: at the same time, letting him know, that he should immediately depart to his seat at Esher. However, he told their lordships, that he held the place of chancellor by patent for life; and that as he had received the seal from his majesty's own hands, into those alone he would deliver it. The noblemen were extremely offended at this refusal, but the chancellor was positive: but, the dukes coming again the next day, with a peremptory command to the cardinal, to obey his majesty without the least demur, he at last consented; though not without some tart reflections on the conduct of the two dukes, who, with good grounds, were suspected to have the chief hand in his ruin.

The fatal business being thus commenced, the cardinal proceeded with great coolness and submission; he called all his officers before him, and had an immediate inventory taken of every thing he was worth; and the several moveables being brought out and set in a great gallery, and the chamber adjoining, he left them all for the king. Indeed his treasury resembled that of an Eastern monarch, rather than an European subject; for, in the first place, there were set in the gallery several tables, on which were piled an infinite variety of rich stuffs, with cloths and silks of all colours and manufactures; there were a thousand pieces of holland; and all the hangings of his great rooms, were gold and silver arras; with the most magnificent robes and coats, that he had bought for the use of his two colleges at Oxford and Ipswich: but these were trifles to what was to be seen in his chambers: there were set very large tables, wholly covered with plate, a great part of which was solid

gold, all the rest of his goods and furniture bearing an equal proportion; so that it is not improbable that his known opulence was no small inducement to the persecution against him. All things thus settled, he prepared to withdraw to Esher; but just as he was going, Sir William Gascoigne, his treasurer, came up, and told him, it was rumoured abroad, that he was to go directly to the Tower: to which the cardinal replied, with some dissatisfaction at Sir William's credulity, and unkindness, in telling him every light story; "that he had done nothing to deserve imprisonment, but, having received all he possessed of the king, it was but reasonable he should return it to him again."

He then took boat, having with him most of his servants, with some furniture and provisions, and directed his course towards Putney. Upon this occasion, the Thames was crowded with spectators on both sides, and a vast number of boats appeared on the river, in hopes of seeing the cardinal carried to the Tower; and it is almost incredible to tell what joy the common people expressed, on that occasion, who in prosperity followed him with applause and blessings. Being landed at Putney, he immediately mounted his mule, his servants and attendants being on horseback; but he was scarce got to the foot of the hill, on the other side of the town, when he was overtaken by Sir John Norris, one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber, who dismounted his horse, and saluting his eminence in his majesty's name, told him "he was sent expressly to assure him, that he was as much in the king's favour as ever: that this disgrace was only to serve a turn, and please some sort of people; bidding him be of good courage, for, as his majesty was able, so he was willing, to make up all his losses." The cardinal being surprised

surprized at this joyful news, directly got off his mule, and falling upon his knees in the dirty highway, he betrayed an extravagance of transport at the appearance of returning to favour, quite unbecoming a man; he pulled off his hat, praised the king's goodness, and embraced Sir John Norris over and over; after which, being again mounted, and riding towards Esther, as they conversed on the way, Norris pulled out a gold ring set with a very rich stone, which he presented to the cardinal in the king's name, in token of his recovered friendship; and Wolsey, in return, taking a gold cross from about his neck, in which a piece of the Holy Cross, (as it was said) was inclosed, bestowed it on Sir John, as a perpetual remembrance of his service. Then, bethinking himself of what would be acceptable to the king, he sent him his fool, Patch, whom six of his tallest yeomen were scarce able to conduct, so great a reluctance he had to part with his old master; but with this present the king appeared very much pleased.

But after all these great promises from the king, it appears that nothing was meant by them; for the cardinal no sooner reached his retreat, than he was intirely neglected, being suffered to continue there three weeks, without either beds, tablecloths, or dishes to eat his meat upon; neither had he money to buy any; so that he must infallibly have perished, had it not been for the supplies the country people sent to him. In these sad circumstances his secretary one day told him, that he ought in conscience to consider him and his other servants, who had never forsook him, in weal or woe, "Alas! Thomas," said the cardinal, "you know I have nothing to give you nor them; which makes me both ashamed and sorry." After which, by his secretary's advice, borrowing some money of his chaplains, many of whom he had

preferred to great benefices, he had all his servants called up before him, and beheld them for some time with great tenderness, whilst his silence, and the tears that ran down his cheeks, testified his inward affliction; at length, preceiving his servants also weep very plentifully, he made them a most moving speech; in which he lamented that he had not done so much for them, in his prosperity, as he might have done; tho' he excused himself by the great promptness that there might be in people, to say, there was no office would escape the rapacity of the cardinal: he then deplored his present situation, which had left him nothing but the bare cloathes upon his back, so that he was without any means of acknowledging their services: however, he thanked them all heartily, and giving them their wages, and his blessing, told them they had better provide for themselves. After this, most of his servants left him, except Cavendish, who stayed about his person, and Cromwell, who went to London, to take care of his affairs there.

It was now the cardinal began to find out, in spite of specious pretences, how little, in reality, the king was his friend; for, from the rigorous proceedings commenced against him at law, it was apparent that his majesty resolved to have him at his mercy, upon the statute of premunire, though it appeared to every one, that, to let this law loose upon him, would be the greatest injustice, in as much as he was authorized by the king to execute his legantine commission: yet, at the importunity of several lords of the council, he declined pleading to the information exhibited against him, and threw himself entirely on the king's mercy, who, he said "had a conscience to judge and understand how far he merited punishment for the matter alleged against him;" then judgement was signed. However, he received assurances from Henry, that

he

he would not proceed to the utmost rigour of the law; and soon after, he had part of his goods given to him, and obtained a protection from the king; but still diligent enquiry was making after all his estates and effects, and whenever any were found, they were immediately confiscated to his majesty's use.

It seems a hard matter to reconcile the different parts of Henry's behaviour in discarding his minister; he found he was no longer his creature, perhaps, and therefore he ceased to be his favourite; and yet he seems to have been ashamed of the part he was acting against a man whom he once so highly favoured, by letting him down with a seeming reluctance, and qualifying every step he fell, with some act of pretended tenderness and compassion. Thus in the parliament which was called on the third of November, after Wolsey's disgrace, when the lords exhibited four and forty articles of impeachment against him, and the bill (through the management of the cardinal's secretary) was rejected in the lower house, the king expressed great satisfaction at it; and indeed all the articles were built on so weak, and many of them upon so unjust, a foundation, that lord Herbert might well say, no minister was ever displaced with less to alledge against him. In some of these articles it was made a capital offence to have done several things which he did by the king's express command, and under his licence; while others carried an air of ridiculousness and absurdity: and even those which bore the best face, contained, at the utmost, but trifles, and errors rather than crimes. But though this ill-supported charge fell to the ground; nay, though the king, in one of his relenting fits, granted him the most ample pardon for all crimes which he might be supposed to have committed against the crown, that ever king grant-

ed to a subject, the cardinal's ill fortune still continued to pursue him with accumulated rage; nor would his hard-hearted master be satisfied, while he had any thing left, that it was possible to wring from him.

Henry insisted upon his signing a resignation of York-house, and he was obliged to do it. He also forced him to make over by deed of gift, the revenues of the bishoprick of Winchester, and, after all, would not so much as pay his debts, nor allow him sufficient to subsist upon; so that, with one vexation or other, Wolsey was at length quite harrassed out, and fell dangerously ill of a violent fever. But the cardinal's indisposition was no sooner mentioned at court, than the king expressed the greatest concern and uneasiness; he declared he would not lose him for twenty thousand pounds; ordered one of his own physicians to attend him; and being told, that nothing was so likely to promote a recovery, as some mark of favour from the royal hand, he not only sent him a ring with his own picture in it, from himself, but made Ann Bullen take the gold erwes from her side, and, with many obliging expressions, entreated the cardinal's acceptance of it, as a token of her esteem and affection. Yet Wolsey was no sooner up again, than the prospect grew as gloomy as ever: the king dissolved both his colleges, though in the humblest and most earnest manner he besought him to spare them: and the cardinal having, in his prosperity, at a great expence, built himself a tomb, which was not finished at the time of his fall, his majesty seized that also; nor would he be prevailed on to restore it, though his old favourite begged it of him in the moving term of a burying place, which, "on account of his great heaviness, he said, he was soon likely to want." However, the king was not so inflexible to all his requests; for

for the cardinal representing about this time, that the air of Esſer was very prejudicial to his constitution, he was immediately permitted to remove to Richmond, and a ſum of money was iſſued from the Treasuſry, to make his circumſtances a little more eaſy.

His removal to Richmond made his enemies very uneaſy; they diſliked ſuch a proximity to the court, and were in continual fear, leſt Henry ſhould relapſe into his former attachment, and, one time or other, call his diſcarded miniſter again into favour. In theſe thoughts, they determined to move him to a greater diſtance; and conſidering his province in the north as the propereſt place for his future reſidence, they found no great difficulty in procuring an order from Henry for his immediately repairing thither. The poor cardinal would fain have retired no further than Wincheſter, but no place but Yorkſhire would do; and on his being a little tardy to ſet out, on account of money which he waited for, and becauſe there was no exact time fixed for his journey, the duke of Norfolk one day meeting his ſecretary Cromwell, ſaid to him, "Go, tell thy maſter, that unleſs he quickly removes towards the north, I will tear him to pieces with my teeth;" which being repeated to the cardinal, "Then, cried he, it is time for me to be going," and accordingly he left Richmond in a few days after, taking the road for his archiepiſcopal ſeat at Cawood.

No ſooner was he arrived and ſettled in this place, than he gave himſelf up entirely to devotion and his paſtoral charge, daily diſtributing to the poor, and keeping an hoſpitable table for all comers. His cuſtom was, to viſit all the little pariſh churches round about, in which one of his chaplains generally preached, and ſometimes he condeſcended to dine at an honeſt farmer's houſe, where he was conſtantly ſurrounded with a great

number of indigent people, whom he conversed with, and relieved. Finding his palace also very much out of repair, he at one time engaged above three hundred workmen and labourers in fitting it up: but such was the malignity of his enemies at court, that they interpreted this to his disadvantage, Cromwell writing to him in one of his letters from London, "Some there be that do alledge
" your grace keeps too great a house and family,
" and that you are continually building: for the
" love of God, therefore, have respect, and refrain."

In consequence of this admonition, the cardinal began to contract his manner of living: but his enemies, who were resolved on his destruction, soon found something else to lay hold of, in the great preparations which, contrary to his warmest intreaties, and, in some measure, without his knowledge, the dean and chapter of his cathedral church were making for his solemn installation; infomuch, that for a week before the day fixed for that ceremony, people from all parts of the kingdom crowded, out of curiosity, to the city of York.

But now an accident happened, which shewed, that this great man, was the slave of superstition. "On All Saints day, the cardinal being at dinner with his chaplains, doctor Augustine, a physician, cloathed with a very heavy velvet gown, in rising up, pushed against the cardinal's silver cross, placed at the corner of the table, which fell so heavy upon the head of doctor Bonner, that the blood came trickling down. Upon this the cardinal immediately retired to his chamber, and shaking his head, said, "Malum omen," a bad sign; which he afterwards interpreted to Cavendish upon his death-bed, telling him, that the cross represented his person; doctor Augustine, who threw it down, his enemy, and an informer; and the chaplain being wounded, imported, that his power was at an end, and death
would

would quickly ensue." But when the earl of Northumberland and Sir Walter Walsli arrived at Cawood to arrest the cardinal, his words were considered by weak men as a prophecy, though in fact, they amounted to no more than the well-grounded apprehensions of a fallen statesman. The earl and Sir Walter were attended by a body of horse, which plainly bespoke their commission.

Alighting at the cardinal's gate, they went immediately into the hall, and demanded the keys from the porter: but the man, astonished at this request, refused to deliver them without his master's order. To prevent any further disturbance, therefore, they contented themselves with taking an oath from him, "That no person should go out or come in, till he received further orders;" the cardinal all this while remaining ignorant of what passed below, care being taken that no one should go up to inform him: however, at last, one of the servants found means to slip by, and told his eminency that the earl of Northumberland was in the hall. Wolsey being then at dinner, took this for a friendly visit from his old pupil, and immediately rose from table; went down stairs to meet the earl, expressed his concern that he had not given him notice of the visit that he might have given him a better reception, and taking him by the hand led him up to his apartment, the earl's gentlemen following, where taking the cardinal aside to a window, while they were in conversation, Northumberland said, "My lord, I arrest you for high treason." Upon this the cardinal demanded to see his authority; but the earl refusing to shew his commission, Wolsey replied, "I will not then submit to your arrest:" however, Sir Walter Walsli coming up during the debate, whom the cardinal knew, and repeating what the earl had before said, he very readily surrendered himself.

Being now in custody, Saturday was spent in packing up some of his effects, and preparing for his journey; but, as soon as the country people were informed of what the earl and Walth had been doing, they surrounded the palace, expressing the deepest concern, for he had always been the protector and friend of the poor; which gave Northumberland and the knight no little uneasiness.

On Sunday, the first of November, early in the morning, he proceeded on his journey towards London. As soon as he came out of his gate, the people with great lamentation expressed their concern, and followed him for several miles, till the cardinal desired them to depart, and be patient; for that he feared not his enemies, but entirely submitted to the will of Heaven. The first night he lodged at Pomfret Abby; the next night, with the Black Friars at Doncaster; and the night following, at Sheffield Park, where he remained eighteen days. Here he was kindly entertained by the earl of Shrewsbury, and had great respect shewed him by the neighbouring gentlemen, who flocked in to visit him: but being one day at dinner, he was taken very ill with a sudden coldness at his stomach; which apprehending to be an oppression occasioned by wind, he immediately sent to an apothecary for some medicine to expel it, and this gave him ease for the present; but if he was not then poisoned, as some people imagined, either by himself or others, it appears that this disorder, from whatever root it sprung, was the cause of his death, for he was in so languishing a condition when Sir William Kingston, the lieutenant of the Tower, came to the earl of Shrewsbury's, to take him into custody, and attend him to London, that he was hardly able to walk across the chamber. This circumstance too of being put into the hands of the lieutenant of the Tower, gave a great shock

to his weakened frame; for when the earl of Shrewsbury ordered Cavendish to tell him of Kingston's arrival, in the tenderest manner, that he might take it quietly, and without apprehension, the cardinal clapped his hands on his thigh, and gave a great sigh, saying, "I now see what is preparing for me." Which expression seems to destroy the idea of his having poisoned himself; as it imported a dread of public execution. However, ill and weak as he was, he left the earl of Shrewsbury's the following morning, and, by gentle progress, reached another seat of his lordship's that night.

Thus he continued three days making short journeys, by slow progress, till on the third at night he arrived at Leicester Abby. Here the abbot and the whole convent came out to meet him, receiving him in the court with great reverence and respect; but the cardinal only said, "Father Abbot, I am come to lay my bones among you;" and riding still on his mule, till he came to the stairs of his chamber, he with much difficulty was helped up, and put to bed.

This was on Saturday, the 25th of November, and on the Monday following his illness was so far increased, that it was the general opinion of all his attendants, he could not live long. On Tuesday morning early, Sir William Kingston went into his room, and asked him how he had rested: the cardinal devoutly answered, "I only wait the pleasure of Heaven to render my poor soul into the hands of my Creator." After this, being about the space of an hour at confession, Kingston came to him a second time, and then Wolsey finding his dissolution very nigh, "I pray you (said he) have me heartily recommended to his royal majesty, and beseech him on my behalf to call to his remembrance all matters that have passed
" between

“ between us from the beginning, especially with
 “ regard to his business with the queen ; and then
 “ will he know in his conscience, whether I have
 “ offended him. He is a prince of a most royal
 “ carriage, and hath a princely heart ; and,
 “ rather than he will miss, or want any part of
 “ his will, he will endanger the one half of his
 “ kingdom. I do assure you, that I have often
 “ kneeled before him, sometimes three hours to-
 “ gether, to persuade him from his will and ap-
 “ petite, but could not prevail. Had I but served
 “ God as diligently as I have served the king, he
 “ would not have given me over in my grey hairs :
 “ but this is the just reward that I must receive for
 “ my indulgent pains and study, not regarding
 “ my service to God, but only to my prince.
 “ Therefore, let me advise you, if you be one of
 “ the privy-council, as by your wisdom you are
 “ fit, take care what you put into the king’s head ;
 “ for you can never put it out again.” Adding,
 after a very severe warning against the Lutherans,
 “ Mr. Kingston, farewell ; I wish all things may
 “ have good success ; my time draweth on fast.”
 Having uttered these words, his speech failed him,
 and he died about eight o’clock, the guards being
 called in to see him expire ; such was the end, on the
 29th of November 1530, of this famous prelate
 and statesman. After his death he was laid in an
 oaken coffin, with his face uncovered, that every
 one might be permitted to view him ; and early in
 the morning on St. Andrew’s day, he was buried
 in the middle of one of the Abbey chapels.

The cardinal was, as to his person, tall and
 comely, and very graceful in his air and manner ;
 but he had a blemish in one of his eyes, with a
 view to hide which defect, he was always painted
 in profile.

In his ministerial character he displayed eminent abilities, and it is certain, that during his administration, he rendered England formidable to all the powers of Europe. But it is as evident that in his foreign negotiations, he was often influenced by his own private views.

It has been urged as a strong presumption in Wolsey's favour, that the latter part of Henry's reign was more criminal, than that in which he governed: "but it may be doubted, says Lord Herbert, whether the impressions he gave, did not occasion divers irregularities which were observed to follow: for he had made it a rule to submit implicitly to the king's pleasure, and had taught him that pernicious doctrine, that no law had the force to curb his prerogative, which increased Henry's arbitrary disposition."

In prosperity, Wolsey was proud, arrogant, and haughty; in adversity, mean, abject, and cowardly. His vices were of that cast which most disgrace the sacred character of a prelate. At the same time his virtues were of the public kind, for he greatly promoted and encouraged literature, he patronized and cultivated the polite and useful arts; and he was in general, a liberal friend to the poor. Upon the whole, he was a very great, but far from a good man.

Authorities. Life of Wolsey by Sir William Cavendish, his gentleman usher. M. S. by the same, in the Harleian, M. S. S. No. 428. Fiddes's life of Wolsey. Lord Herbert's life of Henry VIII. Rapin, and Hume's history of England.

THE

The LIFE of

SIR THOMAS MORE.

[A. D. 1480, to 1535.]

THOSE authors, who are fond of recording wonders, tell us, that the birth of this great man was preceded by several strange dreams, which his mother had during her pregnancy, portending his future fortune; but without paying any regard to the legends of superstition, it may be affirmed, that his childhood afforded the most lively hopes of what his maturer years accomplished. OF this we have a testimony in the behaviour of cardinal Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, and lord chancellor of England; for young Thomas More being, according to the custom of those times, put into his family for education, his grace would often say to the nobility who dined with him; "This boy, who waits at the table, whosoever lives to see it, will prove a surprising man." But not to dwell too long upon trifles; according to the best accounts, this excellent man was born in the year 1480, in Milk-street, London; his father, Sir John More, being then a gentleman of established reputation in the law, in which profession he afterwards brought up his son; sent him to Oxford in 1497, where he remained two years, and then removed to New-Inn, London; and it appears that Mr. More, on his first entrance on business, acquired great reputation at the bar; though taking an early distaste to that way of life, he suddenly

denly retired to the Charter-house ; where, giving himself up entirely to devotion, he remained secluded from the world no less than four years.

At this time, he had a strong inclination, not only to take orders, but the vow of a Franciscan ; but his father persisting in his design of making him a lawyer, his filial submission overcame his inclination to the ecclesiastical state. Another motive might be his gay and lively temper, and an amorous inclination, hardly to be subdued by the austerities he practised ; on which account dean Colet, his intimate friend and confessor, advised him to marry ; and accordingly he accepted an invitation from Mr. Colt of Newhall, to reside some time at his house. This gentleman had three daughters, and, in the course of his visit, Mr. More took a liking to the second ; but it is remarkable, that on being urged by the father to make choice of one of them for a wife, he espoused the eldest, merely for being such, that it might be no vexation or disgrace to her to be passed by. Upon his marriage with this lady, who lived with him about seven years, he took a house in Bucklersbury, and began once again to practise the law. But what greatly contributed to raise his reputation was this : Mr. More was not full two-and-twenty years of age, when being elected a member of the parliament, called by Henry VII. in 1503, to demand a subsidy, and nine fifteenths, for the marriage of his eldest daughter, he had an immediate opportunity of displaying his talents in the house : for the majority were against this demand, though many of the members, being afraid of the king's displeasure, made no opposition : upon which our young lawyer got up, and argued with such strength and clearness against so arbitrary an imposition, that his majesty's demand was, in the end, rejected. Mr. Tyler,

Tyler, one of the privy-council, who was present when the speech was made, went immediately to the king, and told him, that a beardless boy had disappointed all his purpose. A prince, tyrannical and avaricious like Henry, could not fail to be much incensed; and we are not to wonder that he should be determined to be revenged on the person who had presumed to oppose the favourite measure of his reign (that of getting money); however, as our patriot had only performed his duty, for which the king could not call him to account, he meanly revenged himself on Sir John, his father, whom he ordered to be imprisoned in the Tower, till he had paid a fine of an hundred pounds. But young More, having received information from his friend Mr. Whitford, chaplain to Fox, bishop of Winchester, that the court were laying snares to ensnare him in his practice as a lawyer, thought it prudent to decline the profession, and lived retired, till the king's death.

This retirement, however, was of no real disadvantage to him, as he employed his time in improving himself in history, mathematics, and the belles lettres; so that when he immersed again from obscurity, scarce any cause of importance was tried, in which both parties did not attempt to retain him; but he never would defend a bad cause, for any fee whatever. His first preferment was in the city, being made judge of the Sheriff's court in 1510; and before he was actually engaged in the government service, he was twice appointed, by the consent of Henry VIII. at the suit of the English merchants, their agent, in some causes between them, and the foreign merchants of the Steel-yard, in which he acquitted himself with such distinguished honour, that cardinal Wolsey was very solicitous to engage More in his majesty's service; but he was so averse to change the condition

dition of an independent man, for that of a courtier, that the minister could not prevail; and the king, for the present, was pleased to admit of his excuses. It happened, however, some time after, that a great ship of the pope's arrived at Southampton, the king claimed it as a forfeiture, upon which the legate demanded a trial, with council for his holiness, learned in the laws of the kingdom; and, as his majesty was himself a great civilian, he also desired it might be heard in some public place, in the royal presence. Henry acceded to all this, and Mr. More was chosen council on the side of the pope; whose cause he pleaded with so much learning and success, that the forfeiture which the crown claimed, was immediately restored, and the conduct of the lawyer universally admired and applauded. Indeed it brought so great an addition to his fame, that the king would no longer be induced by any intreaty to dispense with his service, and having no better place at that time vacant, he made him master of the requests; conferred on him the honour of knighthood soon after; appointed him one of his privy-council; and admitted him to the greatest personal familiarity.

It was a custom with the king, says the author of the British Antiquities, after he had performed his devotions upon holydays, to send for Sir Thomas More into his closet, and there confer with him about astronomy, geometry, divinity, and other parts of learning, as well as affairs of state. Upon other occasions the king would carry him in the night upon the leads, at the top of the palace, to be instructed in the variety, course, and motions of the heavenly bodies. But this was not the only use the king made of his new servant. He soon found, that he was a man of a cheerful disposition, and had a great fund of wit and humour: and therefore his majesty, would frequently order

order him to be sent for, to make him and the queen merry at supper. When Sir Thomas perceived that they were so much entertained with his conversation, that he could not once in a month get leave to spend an evening with his wife and children, whom he loved, nor be absent from court two days together, without being sent for by the king, he grew very uneasy at this restraint of his liberty; and so beginning, by little and little, to disuse himself from his former mirth, and somewhat to dissemble his natural temper, he was not so ordinarily called for upon these occasions of merriment. The treasurer of the Exchequer dying in 1520, the king, without any solicitation, conferred this office on Sir Thomas More; and within three years after, a parliament being summoned, in order to raise money for a war with France, he was elected speaker of the House of Commons.

During the sessions, cardinal Wolsey was much offended with the members of the House of Commons, because nothing was said or done there, but immediately it was blown abroad, in every ale-house: on the other hand, the members had an undoubted right, as they thought, to repeat to their friends without doors what had passed within. It happened, however, that a considerable subsidy having been demanded by the king, which Wolsey apprehended would meet with great opposition in the lower house, he was determined to be present when the motion should be made, in order to prevent its being rejected. The house being apprised of his resolution, it was a great while under debate, whether it was best to receive him with a few of his lords only, or with his whole train. The major part of the house inclined to the first: upon which the speaker got up, and said, "Gentlemen, forasmuch as my lord cardinal hath, not long since, laid to our charge, the lightness of our
1210
tongues,

tongues, it shall not, in my judgement, be amiss to receive him with all his people; that so, if he blame us hereafter for things spoken out of the house, we may lay it upon those that his grace shall bring with him." The humour of the speaker's motion being approved, the cardinal was received accordingly. But having shewn, in a solemn speech, how necessary it was for the king's affairs, that the subsidies moved for should be granted, and finding that no member made any answer, nor shewed the least inclination to comply with what he asked, he quite lost his temper; and with great indignation said, "Gentlemen, unless it be the manner of your house, to express your minds in such cases by your speaker, here is, without doubt, a surprizing obstinate silence." He then required the speaker to give him an answer to the demand which he had made in the king's name. Upon which Sir Thomas, with great reverence, excused their silence, as being abashed at the presence of so exalted a personage. He then proceeded to shew, "that it was not agreeable to the ancient liberty of the house, to make an answer to his majesty's messages by any other person, how great soever, than some of their own members;" and in the conclusion, he told his eminence, "That though, as speaker, he was the voice of the commons; yet except every one of them could put their several judgements in his head, he alone, in so weighty a matter, was not able to make a sufficient answer." The cardinal taking offence at the speaker for this evasive reply, suddenly rose up and departed: perhaps his displeasure was greater, because he knew that Sir Thomas More had seconded the motion when it was first made; but though that spirited patriot thought the subsidy absolutely necessary for carrying on the war, he made a distinction between the reasonable demands of the king, and the insolence

lence of his minister; and therefore played off this farce against him.

In consequence of this, however, being a few days after in Wolsey's gallery at Whitehall, his eminence complained vehemently of the ill treatment he gave him; and reproaching him for his ingratitude, said, "Would to God you had been at Rome when I made you speaker!" To which Sir Thomas replied, "Your grace not offended, so would I too, for then, I should have seen an antient and famous city, which I have long desired to visit." And then, to divert him from his ill humour, he began to commend the cardinal's gallery, and said, that he liked it better than his other at Hampton-court: but though he thus put an end to his reproaches, he did not cool his resentment: for afterwards, when the parliament broke up, Wolsey persuaded the king to name him ambassador to Spain, purely with a view of doing him a discourtesy, by sending him into a country which he knew would be disagreeable to him: however, when his majesty mentioned his design to Sir Thomas, the knight took the liberty to remonstrate so strongly, yet so modestly against it, on account of the climate, that with a candour and condescension not usual to him, Henry was pleased to admit of his arguments; assuring him withal, that his meaning was not to hurt, but do him good; and therefore he would think of some other person for the embassy, and employ him another way. Accordingly, upon the death of Sir R. Wingfield, in the year 1528, Sir Thomas More was appointed chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster and at the same time admitted into such an high degree of favour with the king, that his majesty would sometimes come, without giving him any notice, to his house at Chelsea, in order to enjoy his conversation upon common affairs.

He

He one day made Sir Thomas an unexpected visit of this sort to dinner, and having walked with him in his garden for an hour, with his arm about his neck, it was such a demonstration of kindness and familiarity, that the king being gone, Mr. Roper, one of Sir Thomas's sons-in-law, could not help observing to him, "How happy he must be, to have his prince distinguish him in so particular a manner." To which Sir Thomas replied, "I thank our lord, son Roper, I find his grace to be my very good master indeed, and I believe that he does as much favour me at present as any subject within this realm; but yet I may tell thee, son, I have no cause to be proud of it; for if my head would win him a castle in France (with which kingdom Henry was then at war) it would not fail to be struck off my shoulders."

It was observed of Sir Thomas More, that the ignorant and the proud, even in the highest station, were those people whom he respected the least; but, on the other hand, he was a patron and a friend to every man of letters, and held almost a continual correspondence with all the literati in Europe. Among foreigners, Erasmus appears to have had the greatest share in his love and confidence; and after a series of mutual letters, expressing their esteem for each other; that divine made a voyage to England, on purpose to enjoy the pleasure of his conversation.

There is a story told of their first coming together, which would hardly deserve to be recorded, if it was not related of two such eminent men: the person who conducted Erasmus to London, it seems, had so contrived, that Sir Thomas and he should meet, without knowing it, at the lord-mayor's table, in those days open at all times to men of learning and eminence, when a dispute arising at dinner, Erasmus, in order to display his learning,

learning, endeavoured to defend the wrong side of the question; but he was so sharply opposed by Sir Thomas, that, finding he had to do with an abler man than he ever before met with, he said, in Latin, with some vehemence, "You are either More, or nobody." To which Sir Thomas replied, in the same language, with great vivacity, "You are either Erasmus, or the devil." Upon this ec-claircissement, the friends immediately embraced; and afterwards, through the means of Sir Thomas, Erasmus was much caressed by the greatest men in the nation.

It is remarkable, that of all the servants and favourites of Henry VIII. he never treated any with so much tenderness and good humour, as Sir Thomas More. The answer which he made the king on his desiring his judgement with regard to his marriage with queen Catherine, does honour to his memory. Clark and Tonstal, bishops of Bath and Durham, with others of the privy-council, having been ordered to consult with him, "To be plain with your grace," said Sir Thomas, "neither my lord of Durham, nor my lord of Bath, nor myself, nor any of your privy-council, being all your servants, and greatly indebted to your goodness, are in my judgement proper counsellors for your grace upon this point; but, if you please to understand the very truth, you may have such counsellors who, neither for respect of their own worldly profit, nor for fear of your princely authority, will deceive you;" and then he named Jerome, Austin, and several other ancient fathers, producing the opinions he had collected out of them. Notwithstanding the king did not approve of what had passed, Sir Thomas always used such discretion in his conversation with his majesty on this subject, that, self-willed as Henry was, he did not take it ill of him, and soon after, intending to

proceed no farther in his divorce, he appointed Sir Thomas in 1529, together with Toustal bishop of Durham, his friend, ambassadors to negotiate a peace between the Emperor, Henry, and the king of France; a peace was accordingly concluded at Cambray; and Sir Thomas procured so much greater advantages to the kingdom than were thought possible, that, for his eminent services, the king, upon the disgrace of Wolsey, gave Sir Thomas the great seal, on the 25th of October 1529.

Upon his entrance into the office of chancellor, a surprizing change was seen by every body; notwithstanding Wolsey's great abilities, and disinterestedness, yet, such was his pride, that he would scarce look on any of the common rank, and it was difficult to be admitted into his presence, without bribing his officers and servants; whereas, a man now presided in the court of chancery, who, the meaner his suitors were, the more attentively would he hear the business, and the more readily dispatch it. It is said that one of his sons-in-law, Mr. Dauncy, found fault with him once, between jest and earnest, for this extraordinary condescension; adding "you are so ready to hear every man, poor as well as rich, that there is no getting any thing under you; whereas, were you otherwise, some for friendship, some for kindred, and some for profit, would gladly have my interest to bring them to you. I know I should do them wrong if I took any thing from them, because they might as readily prefer their suits to you themselves; but this, though I think it very commendable in you, yet to me, who am your son, I find it not profitable." "You say well son," cry'd the chancellor, "I am glad you are of a conscience so scrupulous, but there are many other ways that I may do good to yourself,

yourself, and pleasure your friends; and this be assured of, upon my faith, that if the parties will call for justice at my hands, then, though it were my father, whom I love so dearly, stood on one side, and the devil, whom I hate so extremely, stood on the other, the cause being good, the devil should have it." But as an indubitable proof that Sir Thomas More would not deviate from justice in the smallest matter, for any consideration, the reader may take the following instance. Another of his sons-in-law, Mr. Heron, having a cause depending, was advised to put it into arbitration, but he, presuming on his father's favour, and not agreeing to this proposal, the chancellor, upon hearing the cause, made a decree directly against him: no subpoena was issued, no order granted, but what he saw; and having presided in the court of chancery about two years, such was his application to business, that on a cause being finished, and his calling for the next that was to be heard, he was answered, there was not one cause more depending; which he ordered immediately to be set down on record.

When Sir Thomas More was lord chancellor, his father, Sir John, was one of the oldest judges in the King's-bench; and it was a very unusual sight in Westminster-Hall, to see two such great seats filled by a father and son at the same time. There was another, however, still more surprising; for, if the court of King's-bench was sitting, when the chancellor came into the Hall, he went first into that court, and there kneeling down, in the sight of every body, asked his father's blessing: and when they happened to meet together at the readings in Lincoln's Inn, he always offered the precedence to his father, though, on account of his son's high dignity, Sir John as constantly waved it.

Though

Though living much at court, a chearful man, and a man of business, yet it appears that Sir Thomas More had a different sense of religion upon his mind, from what courtiers and men of business generally have; we are told, in particular, that it was his constant custom, besides his private prayers, to read the Psalms and Litany with his wife and children in a morning; and every night to go with his whole family into the chapel, and there devoutly read the Psalms and Collects with them. But because he chose sometimes to retire, even from his family, and sequester himself from the world, he built at some distance from his mansion house, a gallery, library, and chapel, where, as on other days, he spent some time in study and devotion, so on Fridays he continued the whole day, employing it in such exercises as he thought might best improve his mind in religious matters. The great offices which he held, and which he always executed with a splendor suitable to their dignity, obliged him to keep many servants; but he never suffered any of them to be idle, that they might not acquire a habit of sloth, and to keep them from gaming, and other profligate courses, of which idleness is the source; yet let not the reader imagine from hence that he was a sour and splenetic philosopher; on the contrary, he was the farthest from it in the world, and in his hours of relaxation from business delighted in music and other chaste amusements. He was also a lover of the polite arts, of which we have an instance in his patronage of Hans Holbein, the famous portrait painter, who being recommended to him by letter from Erasmus, the chancellor kept him in his house till he had painted the portraits of all his family, and then taking occasion to shew his pieces to the king, Henry was so struck with the resemblances, that he asked Sir Thomas, if such

an artist was alive, and to be procured for money? to which the generous patron replied, by producing Holbein, who was immediately taken into the king's service, in which he died of the plague, A. D. 1554.

But having proceeded thus far in a panegyrick, which truth and justice demanded of us, we must now take the other side of the question, and confess, that, while Sir Thomas was adorned with the gentlest manners, and the purest integrity, he shewed, upon many occasions, a culpable aversion to what he judged to be heresy, which can only be excused upon the principles of conscience, and his general good character. In defence of the Romish faith he wrote several virulent books, in opposition to the broachers of the new opinion; which act of zeal was so acceptable to the English clergy, that, being assembled in full convocation, they unanimously agreed to make him a present of four or five thousand pounds (equal to thirty at this day) as a recompence for his holy labours; and the same being raised by a general contribution among them, three bishops were deputed to wait upon him in the name of the whole body, to tender their warmest acknowledgements for the service he had done the church; and to intreat his acceptance of the testimony she offered of her gratitude. But what was the answer of this great man to these reverend fathers? It would be an injury to give it in any other words than his own. "It is
 "no small comfort to me," said he, "that such
 "wise and learned men so well accepted of my
 "works, but I never will receive any reward for
 "them, but at the hand of God?" and when the bishops, on finding he would not by any means touch the money, desired leave to present it to his family, "Not so, indeed, my lords;" replied he;

"I had rather see it all cast into the Thames than that I, or any of mine, should have a penny of it: for though your lordships offer is very friendly and honourable to me, yet, I set so much by my pleasure, and so little by my profit, that, in good faith, I would not, for a much larger sum, have lost the rest of so many nights, as was spent upon these writings: and yet I wish, upon condition that all heresies were suppressed, that all my books were burnt, and my labour entirely lost." The prelates then saw it was in vain to urge him any farther, so with much reluctance they carried the gold back, and restored to their much astonished brethren, the sum every individual had contributed.

It has been asserted by many historians, that Henry gave the great seal to Sir Thomas More, purely with a view of engaging the opinion of a man so eminent for piety and learning, in favour of his divorce from queen Catherine; for he thought, after bestowing on him such a post, Sir Thomas could not, with decency refuse it: but if these were really the king's sentiments, he knew very little of the person he had to deal with, and in the end found himself mistaken: Sir Thomas always vowed that he thought the marriage lawful in the sight of God, since it had once received the sanction of the Apostolic council; for, tho' he stood the foremost among those who were for abolishing the illegal jurisdiction which the popes exercised in England, he was far from wishing a total rupture with the see of Rome, which he plainly perceived was unavoidable, according to the measures king Henry was then pursuing. All these things considered; Sir Thomas, knowing he must be engaged in the contest, one way or other, on account of his office, by which means he must either offend his conscience, or disoblige the king; never ceased soliciting his great and intimate friend the

duke of Norfolk to intercede with his majesty, that he might deliver up the seal, for which, through many infirmities of body, he said he was no longer fit; and being pressed so often by him to this purpose, the duke at length applied to the king, and obtained permission that the chancellor might resign. But when he waited on Henry for that purpose, the monarch, notwithstanding, what he called, Sir Thomas's obstinacy with regard to his great affair, expressed much unwillingness to part with so useful a servant; and, giving him many thanks and commendations for his excellent execution of a most important trust, assured him, that, in any request he should have occasion to make, which concerned either his interest or his honour, he should always find the crown ready to assist him.

As Sir Thomas More had sustained the office of lord high chancellor, for above two years and a half, with the utmost wisdom and integrity, so he retired from it with an unparalleled greatness of mind; not being able to defray the necessary expences of his private family, when he had divested himself of that employment. About the time of his resignation, died, Sir John More, his father, in a very advanced age, whom he often visited and comforted in his illness, and to whom he expressed the most filial affection in his last moments. This was an event, however, which brought him a very inconsiderable increase of fortune, because the greatest part of his father's estate was settled upon his second wife, who out-lived Sir Thomas many years. When he had delivered up the great seal, he wrote an apology for himself, in which he declared to the publick that all the revenues and pensions he had by his father, his wife, or his own purchase, except the manors given him by the king, did not amount to the value of fifty pounds a year.

Strange it will appear in this age, that a privy councillor, who had filled so many great offices for above twenty years, and had been all his life a frugal man, should not have been able to purchase an hundred pounds per annum. But such was this excellent man's charity, and such his contempt of money, that in all that time, he made no provision for himself, or family.

The day after he quitted the chancellorship, which his own family knew nothing of, he went as usual to Chelsea Church, with his wife and daughter, and after mass was over (it being customary for one of his gentlemen to go to his lady, to tell her the chancellor was gone out of church) he went himself to the pew-door, and making her a low bow, said, "Madam, my Lord is gone." But she knowing his humour, took very little notice of this: however, as they were walking home, he told her how matters really stood, and she, finding he was in earnest, and being a worldly-minded woman, cried, in her accustomed manner, "Tilly vally, what will you do Mr. More? Will you sit and make gossings in the coals? Would to God I were a man, and you should quickly see what I would do. I would not be so foolish to be ruled, where I might rule:" to which Sir Thomas replied, "by my faith, wife, I believe you speak truth, for I never yet found you willing to be ruled;" and then finding fault with her dress, he changed the discourse. Perhaps this may seem a trifling story in the life of so great a man, but the reader is to remember, that the characters of men are often best learned from trifles.

The first thing he set about after the surrender of his office, was to provide places for all his gentlemen and servants among the nobility and bishops, that they might not be sufferers through him. This being done to his satisfaction, he next, being

no longer able to bear their expences as he used to do, disposed of his married children in their own houses, lessening his family by degrees, till he could get it within the bounds of his small income, making, at the utmost, but a little above one hundred pounds a year. Nor had he, after his debts were paid, an hundred pounds in gold and silver upon earth, his chain and a few rings excepted.

Sir Thomas now resolved never to engage again in public business. He gave himself up to a domestic life, in a retired manner at his house at Chelsea; but as he was well acquainted with the inconstant and cruel temper of the king, he expected to be treated with rigour, and therefore he prepared himself with pious resolution for a fate which he had often foretold would inevitably befall him.

The Coronation of Ann Boleyn, being fixed for the 31st of May 1533; Sir Thomas More was invited to be present at the ceremony, but this he declined, as he still retained his opinion as to the illegality of the King's divorce from queen Catherine. This refusal exasperated the King so much, that in the ensuing parliament, a bill was brought into the house of lords, attainting him, with several others, for countenancing and encouraging Elizabeth Barton, a pretended prophetess, styled, "the holy maid of Kent".

This woman affirmed, that she had revelations from God, to give the king warning of his wicked life, and the abuse of the authority committed to him. In a journey to the Nuns of Sion, she called on Sir Thomas More, and declaring her pretended revelations to him, he was brought in, by the king's direction, as an accomplice with her. He justified himself, however, as to all the intercourse he had with her, in several letters to secretary Cromwell; in which he said, he was convinced she was the most
false

false dissembling hypocrite that had ever been known. But this availed him nothing, the king being highly incensed against him; and when Sir Thomas desired to be admitted into the House of Commons to make his own defence against the bill, his majesty would not consent to it, but assigned a committee of the council to hear him. But, the chief point intended was to prevail on him, by fair words or threatnings, to give a publick assent to the king's measure; to which purpose the lord chancellor Audley made a great parade of his majesty's extraordinary love and favour to Sir Thomas: but the worthy knight, not to be shaken, after assuring the committee of the just sense he had of the king's goodness to him, told them, "That he had hoped he should never have heard any more of that business, since he had, from the beginning, informed his majesty of his sentiments with regard to it; and the king accepted them not ungraciously, promising, that he should never be molested farther about it. However, he had found nothing, since the first agitation of the matter, to persuade him to change his mind; if he had, it would have given him a great deal of pleasure." Then the lords proceeded to threaten him, telling him it was his majesty's commands they should inform him, he was the most ungrateful and traitorous subject in the world; adding, that he had been the means of his majesty's publishing a book, in which he had put a sword in the pope's hand to fight against himself. This was Henry's famous book against Luther; but Sir Thomas clearing himself of this charge also, and protesting he had always found fault with those parts of the book, which were calculated to raise the power of the pope, and that he had objected against them to his majesty, the lords, not being able to make any reply to his vindication, broke up the committee; Mr. Roper, seeing Sir Thomas extremely cheerful at his return, asked

him if his name was struck out of the bill of attainder, that he was in such good spirits. "I had forgotten that," said the knight; "but, if you would know the reason of my mirth, it is, that I have given the devil a foul fall to-day; and gone so far with these lords, that without great shame indeed, I can never go back."

As the duke of Norfolk and secretary Cromwell, had a high esteem for Sir Thomas, they used their utmost efforts to dissuade the king from proceeding on the bill of attainder; assuring him, that they found the upper house were fully determined to hear him in his own defence, before they would pass it; and, if his name was not struck out, it was much to be apprehended, that the bill would be rejected. But the king was too haughty to submit to a subject, with whom he had entered the lists, and too vindictive in his temper to forgive a man who had been his favourite, and yet had dared to offend him: therefore, after talking in a very high strain, he said, that he would be present himself in the house when the bill should pass; thinking, no doubt, that the parliament stood so much in awe of him, that the lords would not then dare to reject it. The committee of the council, however, differed from him; and finding that nothing else would moderate the obstinacy and vehemence with which he pursued this point, they fell on their knees, and besought him to forbear; telling him, "That if it should be carried against him in his own presence, as they believed it would be, it would encourage his subjects to despise him, and be a dishonour to him also all over Europe. They did not doubt but they should be able to find out something else against Sir Thomas, wherein they might serve his majesty with some success; but in this affair of the Nun he was universally accounted so innocent, that the world thought

thought him worthier of praise, than of reproof."

With these suggestions, especially that of finding something else against him, they at last subdued the king's obstinacy; and the name of Sir Thomas More was struck out of the bill.

But it being now publicly known, that he was as much out of favour with the king, as he had been in his good graces before, accusations poured in against him from every quarter; and then it was, that he found the peculiar advantage of his innocence and integrity. For, if he had not always acted with the highest probity, so that in all the offices which he went through, he kept himself clear of every sort of corruption, the most trivial matter would have been laid to his charge, in order to crush him. Of this we have an instance in the case of one Parnell, who complained, that he had made a decree against him in the court of Chancery, at the suit of Vaughan his adversary, for which he had received, (Vaughan being confined at home with the gout) from the hands of his wife, a great gilt cup, as a bribe. Upon this accusation, he was brought before the council by the king's direction; and being charged by the witness with the fact, he readily owned, that as that cup was brought him for a new-year's gift, long after the decree was made, he had not refused to take it.

Sir Thomas Boleyn, now lord Wiltshire, father to the new queen, who prosecuted the suit against him, and who hated him for not consenting to the king's marriage with her, was transported with joy to hear him own it, and hastily cried out, "Lo! my lords, did I not tell you, that you should find the matter true?" Sir Thomas More then desired, that, as they had with indulgence heard him tell one part of the tale, so they would impartially hear the other: and this being

granted, he declared, " That though, after much solicitation, he had indeed received the cup, and it was long after the decree was made, yet he had ordered his butler to fill it immediately with wine, of which he directly drank to Mrs. Vaughan; and, when she had pledged him in it, then as freely as her husband had given it to him, even so freely he gave the same to her again, to present unto her husband for his new-year's gift; and which she received, and carried back again, though with some reluctance." The truth of this, the woman herself, and others then present, deposed before the council, to the great confusion of the lord Wiltshire, and to the disappointment of all his other enemies.

Other accusations as groundless, were brought against him, which served only, the more fully to demonstrate his innocence and integrity; but in a parliament which was called in 1534, among many other acts which tended to abrogate the papal power, there was one to declare the king's marriage with Catherine against the law of God, confirming the sentence against it, notwithstanding any dispensation to the contrary; and establishing the succession to the crown of England in the issue of his majesty's present marriage with queen Ann. There was a clause in this act, that if any person, should divulge any thing to the slander of this marriage, or of the issue begotten in it, or, being required to swear to maintain the contents of this act, refuse it, they should be adjudged guilty of misprision of treason, and suffer accordingly: and, before the two houses broke up, that they might set a good example to the king's other subjects, all the members took the oath relating to the succession; after which, commissioners were sent all over the kingdom, to ad-

minister

minister it to the people of every rank and denomination.

In a short time after the breaking up of the parliament, there was a committee of the cabinet-council at Lambeth, consisting of the archbishop, the lord-chancellor Audley, and secretary Cromwell; where several ecclesiastics, but no other layman, besides Sir Thomas More, were cited to appear, and take the oath. Sir Thomas being first called, and the oath tendered to him under the great seal, he desired to see the act of succession which enjoined it; and this being also shewed him, he said, "That he would blame neither those who had made the act, nor those who had taken the oath; but, for his own part, though he was willing to swear to the succession, in a form of his own drawing, yet the oath which was offered, was so worded, that his conscience revolted against it, and he could not take it with safety to his soul." He offered, however, to swear to the succession of the crown in the issue of the king's present marriage; because he thought the parliament had a right to determine that matter. Mr. secretary Cromwell, who tenderly favoured him, and who knew the consequence of this debate, when he perceived that Sir Thomas could not be prevailed on to take the oath as it was tendered, saw that his ruin would become inevitable; and, in his great anxiety, protested with an oath, "That he had rather his only son should have lost his head, than that Sir Thomas More should have refused to swear to the succession:" and the conference ending in this manner, he was committed to the custody of the abbot of Westminster for four days; during which, the king and his council deliberated, what course it was best to take with him. Several methods were proposed, but Henry would listen to none of them; and, in the end,

end, Sir Thomas More was committed prisoner to the Tower, and indicted on the statutes.

His misfortunes made so little impressi^on upon his spirits, that he retained his usual mirth. The lieutenant of the Tower had been formerly under some obligation to him, and therefore apologized to him, that he could not accommodate him as he wished, without incurring the king's displeasure: to which he replied, "Master lieutenant, whenever I find fault with the entertainment you provide for me, do you turn me out of doors." When Sir Thomas had been confined about a month, his favourite daughter was allowed to visit him, and afterwards his wife. As she had not the magnanimity, and probably not so good an heart as her husband, she remonstrated with much petulance, "That he who had been always reputed so wise a man, should now so play the fool, as to be content to be shut up in a close filthy prison with rats and mice, when he might enjoy his liberty and the king's favour, if he would but do as all the bishops and other learned men had done: and as he had a good house to live in, his library, his gallery, his garden, and all other necessaries handsome about him, where he might enjoy himself with his wife and children, she could not conceive what he meant by tarrying so quietly in this imprisonment." He heard her very patiently, and then asked her in his facetious manner, "Whether that house was not as nigh to heaven as his own?" which she resenting, he added very seriously, "That he saw no great cause for so much joy in his house, and the things about it, which would so soon forget its master, that, if he were under ground but seven years, and came to it again, he should find those in it, who would bid him begone, and tell him it was none of his. Besides, his stay in it was so uncertain, that as he would be

be but a bad merchant, who would put himself in danger to lose eternity, for a thousand years; so how much more, if he was not sure to enjoy it one day to an end?"

Sir Thomas had now been a prisoner in the Tower above a year, and the king had tried every expedient to procure his approbation of his divorce, and second marriage, that he might avail himself of the example of a man so famous for his wisdom, learning, and religion, but in vain; the knight had espoused the cause of queen Catherine, upon a principle of conscience, and therefore he always withstood Henry upon that point with a firmness becoming his character. The affair of the king's supremacy was no less a matter of conscience to him than the other; but as the statute which enacted it, had made it treason to write or speak against it, he observed a silence in this respect, conformable to the law; but he refused to acknowledge it with an oath; wherefore, the king being determined to get rid of a man who had given him so much trouble, and of whose virtues and popularity he stood in awe, gave orders, that Sir Thomas More should be brought to his trial.

In consequence of this, on a day appointed, he was conveyed in a boat from the Tower to Westminster-hall. So long an imprisonment had much impaired his strength, he went, therefore, leaning on his staff from the waterside; but though his countenance carried the marks of weakness and infirmity, it had the same air of cheerfulness, which always sat upon it in the days of his prosperity. He was tried by the lord-chancellor, and a committee of the lords, with some of the judges, at the bar of the King's-bench. When the attorney-general had gone through the charge against him in the indictment, in the most virulent manner, the lord-chancellor said to him, in
which

which he was seconded by the duke of Norfolk, "You see now, how grievously you have offended his majesty; nevertheless, he is so merciful, that, if you will but leave your obstinacy, and change your opinion, we hope you may yet obtain pardon of his highness for what is past." To this he replied with great resolution, "That he had much cause to thank these noble lords for this courtesy, but he besought Almighty God, that, through his grace, he might continue in the mind he was then in, unto death." After this, he went through his defence upon every part of the indictment with great strength of argument, powerful eloquence, and an astonishing presence of mind.

The principal evidence against him was Mr. Rich, the solicitor-general, who being called and sworn, deposed, that when he was sent, some time before, to fetch Sir Thomas More's books and papers from the Tower, at the end of a conversation with him, upon the king's supremacy, on Mr. Rich's owning, on a case put by him, that no parliament could make a law that God should not be God, Sir Thomas replied, "No more can the parliament make the king supreme head of the church." When the solicitor-general had given this evidence to the court on oath, the prisoner, under a great surprise at the malice and falshood of it, said, "If I was a man, my lords, that did not regard an oath, I needed not, at this time, and in this place, as it is well known to you all, stand as an accused person; and, if this oath, Mr. Rich, which you have taken, be true, then I pray, that I may never see God in the face, which I would not say, were it otherwise, to gain the whole world." Upon which, the solicitor not being able to prove his testimony by witnesses, though he attempted it, that allegation dropped.

But,

But, unhappily for Sir Thomas, he lived in the days of Henry VIII. whose will was a law to judges, as well as juries: notwithstanding therefore, the evidence against him proved notoriously false; yet the jury, to their eternal reproach, found him guilty. They had no sooner brought in their verdict, than the lord-chancellor Audley, as the mouth of the court, began immediately to pronounce the sentence; but the prisoner stopped him short with this modest rebuke: "My lord, when I was towards the law, the manner in such cases was, to ask the prisoner, before sentence, whether he could give any reason why judgement should not proceed against him?" Upon this, the chancellor had the grace to stay, and asked Sir Thomas what he was able to alledge. But if a jury could not be moved by what he had said in defending himself against the charge in this indictment, there could be little hope, that judges would be influenced to wave their sentence by what he should say against the matter of the indictment itself. However, whether the exceptions he made were too strong to be answered; or whether the chancellor began at this time to feel some little compunction; or, had reason to be afraid of the popular clamour, if he took the condemnation of the prisoner entirely upon himself; after Sir Thomas had done speaking, he turned to the lord-chief-justice, and asked him his opinion openly before the court, as to the validity of the indictment, notwithstanding the exceptions of the prisoner. The answer of the chief-justice, whose name was Fitz-James, is somewhat remarkable: "My lords, all, by St. Gillian, I must needs confess, that if the act of parliament be not unlawful, then in my conscience the indictment is not insufficient." Upon this equivocal expression, the lord-chancellor said to the rest, "Lo, my lords; lo, you hear what

what my lord-chief-justice saith ;” and, without waiting for any reply, proceeded to pass sentence, “ That Sir Thomas More should be carried back to the Tower of London, and from thence be drawn on a hurdle through the city to Tyburn, there to be hanged till he was half dead ; after that cut down, yet alive, his private parts cut off, his belly ripped, his bowels burnt, his four quarters set up over four gates of the city, and his head upon London-bridge.”

This shocking sentence filled the eyes of many with tears, and their hearts with horror ; then the court telling Sir Thomas, that if he had any thing further to say, they were ready to hear him, he stood up, and addressed himself to the court, in a manner that shews him to have been a primitive christian, and true philosopher, however he might be blinded in other respects, by Romish superstition. “ I have nothing further to say, my lords, but that like as the blessed apostle St. Paul was present, and consented to the death of Stephen, and kept their cloaths, who stoned him to death, and yet be they now both twain holy saints in heaven, and shall continue there friends for ever ; so I verily trust, and shall therefore right heartily pray, that though your lordships have now been judges on earth to my condemnation, we may yet hereafter all meet together in heaven, to our everlasting salvation : and so I pray God preserve you all, and especially my sovereign lord the king, and send him faithful counsellors.”

Having taken his leave of the court in this noble manner, he was conducted from the bar to the Tower, with the axe carried before him in the usual manner after condemnation. But, when he came to the Tower-Wharf, his favourite daughter, Mrs. Margaret Roper, thinking this would be the last opportunity she should ever have, was waiting there.

there to see him : as soon as he appeared, she burst through the throng and guard, which surrounded him, and having received his blessing upon her knees, she embraced him eagerly before them all, amidst a flood of tears, and a thousand kisses of tenderness, and affection ; her heart being ready to break with grief, the only words that she could utter, were, " My father, oh my father." If any thing could have shaken his fortitude, it must be this ; but he only took her up in his arms, and told her, " That whatsoever he should suffer, tho' " he was innocent, yet it was not without the will " of God, to whose blessed pleasure she should " conform her own will ; that she knew well " enough all the secrets of his heart, and that she " must be patient for her loss." Upon this she parted from him ; but scarce was she turned aside, before her passions of grief and love became irresistible, and she again suddenly broke through the croud, ran eagerly upon him the second time, took him round the neck, and hung upon him with her embraces, ready to die with sorrow : this was rather too much for man to bear, and, though he did not speak a word, yet the tears flowed down his cheeks in great abundance, till she took her last embrace, and left him.

After he had lain a few days under sentence of death, preparing his mind by prayer and meditation, for the stroke which was to follow ; one of the creatures of the king made him a visit, with an intent to persuade him, if possible, to comply with his majesty's will, and to change his mind. Sir Thomas, wearied at last with his nonsense and importunity, in order to get rid of him, told him, " That he had changed it ;" which words were no sooner out of his mouth, than the courtier, pluming himself upon the merit he should have in bringing Sir Thomas More to the point which his majesty,

majesty wished, and so many others had tried in vain; went in great haste and joy to inform the king. Henry, however, was not without apprehensions of a mistake; he ordered the messenger of the news, therefore, to return immediately to the Tower, to know in what particulars the prisoner had changed his mind: when he had the mortification not only to be rebuked for his impertinent officiousness, in telling his majesty every word Sir Thomas had said, even in jest; but also to learn, that he had changed his mind no otherwise than this, "That whereas he intended to be shaved, that he might appear to the people as he was wont to do before his imprisonment, he was now fully resolved that his beard should share the same fate with his head." In consideration that he had borne the highest office in the kingdom, his sentence of being drawn, hanged, and quartered, was, by the king's pardon, changed into beheading; and when he was informed of it, he said, with his usual mirth, "God forbid the king should use any more such mercy to any of my friends; and God preserve my posterity from such pardons."

On the 5th of July, 1535, Sir Thomas Pope, his intimate friend, came to him from the king, very early in the morning, to acquaint him that he should be executed that day at nine o'clock, and therefore that he must immediately prepare himself for death. However, if his majesty intended to shock, or affright him by this short warning, he lost his aim so entirely, that the prisoner said to Sir Thomas Pope, "I most heartily thank you for your good tidings, I have been much bound to the king's highness for the benefit of his honours that he hath most bountifully bestowed upon me, yet I am more bound to his grace, I do assure you, for putting me here, where I have had convenient time

time and space to have remembrance of my end; and, so help me God, most of all I am bound unto him, that it hath pleased his majesty so shortly to rid me out of the miseries of this wretched world." His friend then told him, that his majesty's pleasure further was, that he should not use many words at his execution; to which Sir Thomas answered, "You do well, Mr. Pope, to give me warning of the king's pleasure herein, for otherwise I had proposed, at that time, to have spoken somewhat, but no matter wherewith his grace, or any others, should have cause to be offended: howbeit, whatsoever I intended, I am ready to conform myself obediently to his highness's command; and I beseech you, good Mr. Pope, to be a means to his majesty, that my daughter Margaret may be at my burial." Being told that the king had already consented that his wife, and children, and any of his friends, might have the liberty to be present at it, he added, "O how much beholden then am I to his grace, that unto my poor burial vouchsafes to have such gracious consideration." Sir Thomas Pope having thus discharged his commission, bid his friend adieu, with many tears, and with much commiseration; but the prisoner desired him to be comforted with the prospect of eternal bliss, in which they should live and love together; and to give him an impression of the ease and quiet of his own mind, he took his urinal in his hand, and casting his water, said with his usual mirth, "I see no danger but that this man might live longer, if it had pleased the king."

As soon as Sir Thomas Pope had left him, he dressed himself in the best cloaths he had, that his appearance might express the ease and complacency which he felt within; the lieutenant of the Tower objecting to this generosity to his executioner, who was

was to have his cloaths, Sir Thomas assured him, "if it was cloth of gold, he should think it well bestowed on him, who was to do him so singular a benefit." But the lieutenant, who was his friend, pressed him very much to change his dress: and Sir Thomas, being very unwilling to deny him so small a gratification, put on a gown of frize; and of the little money that he had left, sent an angel to the executioner, as a token of his good will.

And now the fatal hour being come, about nine o'clock he was brought out of the Tower, carrying a red cross in his hand, and often lifting up his eyes to heaven. A woman meeting him with a cup of wine, he refused it, saying, "Christ at his passion drank no wine, but gaul and vinegar." Another woman came crying and demanded some papers she said she had left in his hands when he was lord-chancellor; to whom he said, "Good woman, have patience but for an hour, and the king will rid me of the care I have for those papers, and every thing else." Another woman followed him, crying, he had done her much wrong when he was lord-chancellor; to whom he said, "I very well remember the cause, and if I were to decide it now, I should make the same decree." When he came to the scaffold, it seem'd ready to fall; whereupon he said, merrily, to the lieutenant, "Pray, Sir, see me safe up; and as to my coming down, let me shift for myself." Then he desired the people to pray for him, and bear witness he died in the faith of the catholic church, a faithful servant both to God and the king. He repeated the *miserere* psalm kneeling, with much devotion; and the executioner asking him forgiveness, he kissed him, and said, "Pluck up thy spirits man, and be not afraid to do thine office; my neck is very short; take heed therefore thou strike not awry, for saving thine honesty." Laying his head
upon

upon the block, he bid the executioner stay till he had put his beard aside, for that had committed no treason, upon which, at one blow of the axe his head was severed from his body.

This was the tragical end of Sir Thomas More, whose great accomplishments rendered him an ornament to his country, and who for his integrity, his fortitude, his incorruptible spirit, and generous contempt of riches and external honours, was equal to the most celebrated characters of antient Greece or Rome.

His person was of the middle stature, and well proportioned, his complexion fair, and his countenance chearful, expressing the temper of his mind.

He was an author of great repute, for the time in which he flourished, but his *Utopia* alone preserves its esteem with the learned.

*** *Authorities.* Life of Sir Thomas More, by Mr. Roper, in the Museum, Harleian, M. S. S. No. 7030. Hoddesdon's life of More. Dr. Warner's, ditto, Biog. Britan. Jortin's life of Erasmus.

THE

THE LIFE OF
JOHN FISHER
 BISHOP of ROCHESTER.

[A. D. 1459, to 1535.]

THE memoirs of this illustrious prelate are so closely connected with those of Sir Thomas More, that the omission of some account of a fellow-sufferer in the same cause, would not only create a chasm in the historical events of the reign of Henry VIII. but might mislead the reader into an opinion, that Sir Thomas was the sole victim to the king's disappointment and rage on the contested points of his divorce, and supremacy.

JOHN FISHER, was the son of a merchant of Beverly, in Yorkshire, where he was born in the year 1459, and his father dying while he was very young, the care of his education devolved to his mother; who being informed of the disposition he discovered for learning, while under the tuition of the Priest of the Collegiate church of Beverly, resolved to bring him up to the church, and with this view sent him to the university of Cambridge in 1484. His friends were not disappointed in their expectations, for in 1491, he was admitted master of arts, and in 1495, was so eminent for his learning and his moral conduct, that he was appointed one of the proctors of the university, and elected master of Michael-house, the college in which

which he had taken his degrees. In 1501, he went through his public exercises for the degree of doctor in divinity with such uncommon credit, that his reputation was thereby considerably increased, and he was honoured with the office of vice-chancellor of the university.

At this time, Prince Arthur, the eldest son of Henry VII. was living; and Prince Henry (afterwards Henry VIII.) being designed for an ecclesiastic, was put under the tutorage of Dr. Fisher, who by this favourable opportunity, was introduced to Margaret, (the famous Countess of Richmond) and mother of Henry VII. a lady eminent for her piety, her exemplary virtues, and her literary talents; the countess soon discerned the great merit of Dr. Fisher, and in consequence, appointed him to be her chaplain and confessor, in which station he so entirely gained her esteem, that in all her worldly, as well as spiritual concerns, she acted under his advice and direction. The university of Cambridge, soon reaped the benefit of his confidence, for in 1502, by Fisher's recommendation, the countess founded two perpetual divinity lectures, one at Oxford and the other at Cambridge; of the latter Dr. Fisher was appointed the first divinity professor. In 1504, he was promoted to the see of Rochester, and it is greatly to his honour, that though it was the least valuable of any of the bishoprics at that time, he never would change it for a better.

On the 29th of June 1509, death deprived the good prelate, of his, and the public's royal benefactor, whose numerous acts of liberality, all calculated to serve the cause of piety and literature, have transmitted her memory to the present generation. Amongst many others, her foundations of Christ's and St. John's colleges in Cambridge, are lasting monuments of her well-directed munificence:

ficance : she lived to see the first perfected in 1508, and the latter was completed under the pious care of the bishop of Rochester in 1516. We have an anecdote of this lady on record, which as it strongly marks the religious spirit of the times, and accounts for that resolute zeal, which inspired the best of men with such enthusiastic fortitude, that they would suffer every hardship for the sake of the religion they professed, deserves a place, in the life of our celebrated martyr, who might possibly be animated by such examples to persist even unto death, in those tenets, which he believed to be the dictates of his conscience.

This illustrious lady, who by her birth, and her marriage with the earl of Richmond, was related to thirty kings and queens within the fourth degree of blood, or affinity, often declared, that, "on condition the princes of christendom would combine themselves, and march against their common enemy the Turks, she would most willingly attend them, and be their laundress in the camp."

The bishop of Rochester in 1512, was nominated to attend the lateran council at Rome, as it appears by the archives of St. John's College, but it is most probable that the inspection of the building of this seminary of learning prevented the journey, even after he had obtained letters of recommendation to the most eminent men in Italy; though some have assigned this event, to a disgust taken by cardinal Wolsey, to our pious prelate, who at this time, openly exclaimed against the cardinal's pomp and haughtiness, at a synod of bishops. Fisher however, continued in favour with the king, till 1527, which it is not likely he would have done, if Wolsey had marked him out as a dangerous enemy.

In that year, the king questioned Fisher, concerning the validity of his marriage with queen Catherine, and the bishop with his usual freedom and integrity, declared it to be legal in the sight of God and man, from which opinion he never would depart; and such was the fame of his learning and probity in foreign countries, that Henry found himself more embarrassed by the deference paid to the bishop's decision, than even by the procrastinations of the court of Rome; he therefore now began to withdraw his favour from his old preceptor, and most probably to meditate his destruction.

The first occasion that offered, the courtiers as usual began the quarrel for their master. In the parliament, which met November 3, 1529, a motion was made in the house of lords for suppressing the lesser monasteries, which the bishop opposed with much warmth, when the duke of Norfolk very tartly reprov'd him, saying, "My lord of Rochester, many of these words might have been well spared: but it is often seen, that the greatest clerks are not always the wisest men," to which Fisher replied, "My lord, I do not remember any fools in my time, that have proved great clerks." Complaint was made to the king of the bishop's behaviour, who for the first time sternly rebuked him, and commanded him to use more temperate language in future.

But another circumstance created the bishop many enemies, which was his violent zeal against Luther and his followers, for not content with preaching against this reformer, he wrote, a vindication of king Henry's book, entitled, *An assertion of the seven sacraments against Martin Luther*; which had been fairly refuted by Luther; but for which the pope had given the king the title of "defender of the faith." "A title,"

says the ingenious and learned Mr. Horace Walpole, "which, by a singular felicity in the wording of it, suited Henry equally well, when he burned papists or protestants,—it suited each of his daughters Mary and Elizabeth,—it fitted the martyr Charles, and the profligate Charles,—the Romish James, and the Calvinist William,—and at last seemed peculiarly adapted to the weak head of high-church Ann."

The bishop likewise in conjunction with Sir Thomas More, seized all the books of Lutheranism, as well as those containing any of the doctrines of the Wickliffites or Lollards, and punished those in his diocese, who followed the errors as he called them, of those arch-heretics, Wickliff and Luther.

In 1530, he escaped two private attempts upon his life, for one Richard Rouse came into the kitchen, and while the bishop's cook went out to fetch him some drink, took that opportunity to put poison in the gruel, which was preparing for the family dinner. Fortunately for the bishop he was indisposed and did not eat of the mess, but of seventeen persons who partook of it, two died, and the rest were never restored to perfect health. Upon this occasion, an act of parliament was made, which declared poisoning to be high treason, and though it was after the fact, yet Rouse suffered the punishment enacted; for he was boiled to death, in Smithfield: at another time, a bullet was fired from the opposite side of the Thames, which pierced through the side of his house at Lambeth, and came very near his study, where he passed most of his time; therefore, warned as he thought of the designs of his enemies, he retired to Rochester.

But in the year 1531, when the question of giving the king the title of supreme head of the church

church was agitated in the convocation, the bishop opposed it, in the strongest terms, and when he found it likely to pass, he moved for an amendment, by adding these words, "so far as is lawful by the law of Christ;" and these words being accordingly annexed, by the votes of a majority, Henry was highly exasperated against Fisher, and from this time, his agents sought all opportunities to ruin him. The bishop too soon gave them an opportunity, for he was one of the many deluded persons, who gave credit to the pretended trances, and holy inspirations of the Maid of Kent, and as amongst other things, she prophesied, that if the king persisted in the divorce and married another wife, he would not long survive it: the bishop, who warmly espoused the cause of queen Catherine, consented to an intercourse with her, upon which secretary Cromwell who was his friend apprised him of his danger, advised him to desist from his imprudent encouragement of this imposture, and to write to the king acknowledging his fault, and imploring his pardon; but instead of this, the bishop avowed his belief of the piety and integrity of the Maid of Kent. Cromwell renewed his remonstrances against his conduct in a second letter, and told him if he was brought to a trial, he would certainly be found guilty of misprision of treason, and the bishop still refusing to submit, he was accordingly tried, and with five others found guilty of having concealed from the king the speeches Elizabeth Barton had made relative to his majesty: he was condemned to forfeit his goods and chattels to the king, and to be imprisoned during his pleasure: but he was released, on paying a fine of 300 l. as for the maid of Kent, she and the monks her accomplices were executed at Tyburn, where she confessed her impostures, and a carnal intimacy

with the monks, who, she said, had imposed upon her ignorance.

During the same session of parliament, in which those who had countenanced this woman were attainted, the act was passed annulling the king's marriage with Catherine, and confirming his marriage with Ann Boleyn; an oath was taken by both houses, of allegiance to the heirs of the king's body, by his most dear and entirely beloved lawful wife queen Ann, begotten, and to be begotten, &c. Instead of taking this oath, the bishop withdrew to his house at Rochester, where in about four days, he received orders from the archbishop of Canterbury to attend him, and the other commissioners who were authorised to administer the oath at Lambeth: he appeared to the summons, but after considering the oath five days, absolutely refused to take it, and was thereupon committed to the Tower on the 26th of April 1534.

The general concern expressed by persons of the first rank in the kingdom, for the imprisonment of this worthy prelate, induced the principal members of the king's council to visit him in the Tower, and to use their utmost endeavours to reconcile him to the oath, but in vain; all that they could obtain from him was, that he would swear allegiance to the king, and to the succession, but not to the illegality of the marriage with queen Catherine. In this resolution, Fisher and his illustrious fellow-prisoner Sir Thomas More remained inflexible; at the same time keeping up a friendly correspondence by letters, animating each other to persevere in obeying what they adjudged to be the law of God, in preference to the king's will and pleasure. Archbishop Cranmer was the only man in the council, who declared it as his opinion, that it would be prudent to accept their concessions

concessions with respect to the succession, without troubling them on the other points, for so great an opinion had the archbishop of their influence, that in his letter to Cromwell upon this occasion, he writes, "if they once swear to the succession, it will quiet the kingdom, for they acknowledging it, all other persons will acquiesce and submit to their judgements:" but the king who made it a rule to shew no mercy to those who opposed his arbitrary will; as soon as the parliament met in November 1534, took care to have him attainted for refusing the oath required by the act of succession, and his bishopric was declared void from the 2d of January 1535. During his confinement, he was treated very unkindly, by the king's express orders, being hardly allowed the necessaries of life. It is highly probable, the tyrant expected, that ill usage, combining with old age, would have taken him off in the course of a year's imprisonment; and have spared him the shame of putting to death, his venerable tutor; but the vigour of his constitution surmounting all hardships, the royal barbarian was obliged to have recourse to the meanest of all stratagems to accomplish his destruction, which he had vowed from the instant he received the news that pope Paul III. in consideration of his eminent piety, his learning, his liberality to the university of Cambridge, and his faithful attachment to his religion, had created him a cardinal, by the title of Cardinal Priest of St. Vitalis: this event happened in May, and Henry was so exasperated, that he strictly prohibited bringing the hat into his dominions, which was thereupon stopt at Calais; at the same time, Cromwell was sent to the Tower, to sound the bishop upon this subject, and to discover if he had solicited this new honour. Fisher who was totally ignorant of what had

passed upon having this question put by Cromwell, "my lord of Rochester, what would you say, if the pope should send you a cardinal's hat; would you accept it?" immediately made the following modest and artless reply, "Sir, I know myself to be so far unworthy of any such dignity, that I think of nothing less; but if any such thing should happen, assure yourself I should improve that favour to the best advantage that I could, in assisting the holy catholic church of Christ, and in that respect, I would receive it upon my knees." When this answer was reported to Henry, he exclaimed with great vehemence, "Yea, is he so lusty? well, let the pope send him a hat when he will, mother of God, he shall wear it on his shoulders then, for I will leave him never a head to set it on." The snare was now laid to destroy the unfortunate bishop, the solicitor Rich was sent to the Tower from the king, to draw him into discourse upon the subject of the supremacy; he accordingly represented to Fisher, that the king, for the better satisfaction of his own conscience, had sent him privately to know his opinion concerning it, assuring him at the same time, in the name of his royal master, that no peril or trouble should ensue from declaring his free sentiments: on this assurance, the bishop declared to Rich, that the title was unlawful, and that the king could not take it, without endangering his soul." On this declaration, he was tried, and it being produced in evidence against him by Rich, he was convicted of high treason, upon that part of the statute concerning the succession, which made it treason, to deprive the king, the queen, or their heirs apparent, of any of the dignities, styles, or names appertaining to their royal estates; the supremacy which he had declared unlawful being one. It was in vain, that the bishop re-
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lated the confidential manner in which Rich came to him; that he pleaded his right to give his advice when commanded in the name of the king; very justly observing, that the statute mentioned *maliciously* denying, which could by no means be construed to affect him; all his arguments were lost upon a court and jury, acting under the influence of a merciless tyrant; sentence of death was passed upon him on the 17th of June, in the usual form, but by warrant from the king, it was changed to decapitation.

After his condemnation, his behaviour was consistent with the great character he had always maintained: it was pious, resolute, and chearful, neither repining at the manifest injustice of his sentence, nor courting applause by exulting at the approach of the crown of martyrdom. On the 22d of June, the lieutenant of the Tower, informed him at five in the morning, that he was to suffer that day, and it is remarkable, that after thanking the officer for his intelligence, he slept very sound for two hours, after which he rose with a chearful countenance, dressed himself with unusual neatness, observing to his servant, that it was his marriage day, and calmly resigned himself to his hard fate: he was so extremely weak, that the warders of the Tower were obliged to carry him in a chair to the scaffold on Tower-hill, where he was beheaded, and the next day his head was fixed upon London-bridge.

Thus fell, in the 77th year of his age, this most eminent prelate: whose tragical death left a foul blot on the judicial proceedings of this kingdom. He is represented to us, with respect to his person, as a very tall, comely, robust man, but greatly emaciated in the decline of life. His character has been already given, but the testimony of

Erasmus is too considerable to be omitted; "he was a man of the highest integrity, of profound learning, incredible sweetness of temper, and uncommon greatness of soul."

He was the author of several theological and controversial tracts in Latin and English, of no repute in the present times; but his opinion of the king's marriage, in a letter to T. Wolsey, printed in the collection of records at the end of the second volume of Collier's ecclesiastical history, merits the notice of the curious.

The bishop of Rochester's life should have preceded that of Sir Thomas More, who suffered near a month before him, but as Sir Thomas was the immediate successor of Wolsey in the high office of chancellor, the reader will excuse a small deviation from our professed plan, in favour of such an historical connexion.

**** Authorities.* Biog. Britan. Bailey's life of Fisher. Walpole's catalogue of royal and noble authors. Burnet's history of the reformation, &c.

The LIFE of
THOMAS CROMWELL,
EARL of ESSEX.

[A. D. 1498, to 1540.]

THE Persians have a fable written by one of their most celebrated poets, in which the pine tree, and the cotton shrub, are brought together, disputing the pre-eminence; the tree claims it on account of its height, and up-right position, and reflects on the cotton shrub, as contemptible, on account of its diminutiveness; but the shrub gets the better in the argument, in consideration of its valuable produce; thereby conveying this moral: "that men are not to be esteemed according to their birth, or appearance, but according to the excellence of their qualities; and as, in the former of these lights, the memorable person we are about to treat of, will be held among the meanest; so, in the latter, where actions alone are considered, he will undoubtedly be rated among the most exalted of our English worthies.

Thomas Cromwell, was the son of a blacksmith, and born at Putney, about the year 1498; in which place, he received all the education he ever had, being taught to read and write at the parish school; where he acquired Latin enough to understand his Creed and Pater-noster. It appears, however, that, in his latter days, his father turned brewer; and that, upon his mother's

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being left a widow, she married a second husband, who was a sheerman in London; but this person's name is no where recorded, neither is there any certainty as to the Christian name of Cromwell's own father.

It cannot be supposed that the son of such parents could have a very considerable inheritance; and, indeed, it is morally certain that Cromwell deriyed nothing from his, besides a robust and healthful constitution; however, as he grew up, finding in himself a great propensity to travelling, he went into foreign countries; and, if we may credit Mr. Lloyd, author of the British Worthies, was retained as a clerk or secretary to the English factory at Antwerp; but that office being too great a confinement, he ardently wished for an opportunity to get rid of it; and, in 1510, one offered, which suited with the bent of his inclinations.

There had been, for many years, a famous gild of our lady, in the church of St. Botolph, at Boston in Lincolnshire, to which several popes had granted very considerable indulgences; and, in those days of ignorance and superstition, such things were so highly valued by the people in general, that the sisters and brethren of the gild were very anxious to have them renewed by Julius II. who then presided in St. Peter's chair; for which purpose they dispatched two messengers to Rome, with a large sum of money, to be distributed, by them, as they should find their interest required. These taking Antwerp in their route, there became acquainted with Mr. Cromwell; and, perceiving he was much better qualified to obtain what they desired from the court of Rome, than they were themselves, they prevailed on him to accompany them thither. The consequence of this union was very favourable. Cromwell coming with them to the apostolic seat, immediately set about enquiring

enquiring into the character of the reigning sovereign; and finding that he was a very great epicure, he determined to avail himself of that foible, in order to procure the grant which his companions sought for; accordingly, having caused some very curious jellies to be made, after the English fashion, then unknown in Italy, he presented them to the pope; and these delicacies so highly pleased the holy father, that without hesitation, he granted the English commissaries, the indulgences they required.

After this transaction, the account of Cromwell's conduct in Italy is very imperfect; we only know, that, during his stay in that country, he served under the famous duke of Bourbon, being present at the sacking of Rome; and that he assisted John Russel, esq; afterwards Sir John, and earl of Bedford, in making his escape from Bologna, when he was in danger of being betrayed into the hands of the French, while he was transacting a secret commission for his master, king Henry VIII. and by this good office he acquired a friend who was of great service to him on his return to England. It is said that Cromwell, in his journey to and from Rome, gave a wonderful instance of his extraordinary application and memory, by learning a new translation of the Testament, just then published, under the direction of Erasmus, by heart. But there is an instance of his gratitude, which, though it happened some years after, we must not omit to mention in this place, as it will throw a great light upon his circumstances, while he travelled, or rather wandered up and down, upon the continent.

After the defeat of the French army at Castiglioni in Italy, Cromwell was reduced to the utmost poverty and distress, being destitute of the common necessities of life; in which deplorable condition

condition he arrived at the city of Florence; here one Frescobald, a very rich and eminent merchant, meeting Cromwell one day by chance, and observing he was a foreigner, in distress, enquired into his circumstances; found he was an ingenious and deserving man, and was so wrought upon by compassion for the sufferings of his fellow creature, and a generous regard for merit, that he not only equipped Cromwell with cloaths, but made him a present of a horse, and sixteen ducats in gold, to defray his expences into his own country. Frescobald, being afterwards reduced to poverty, came over to England, (where he had considerable dealings,) in order to recover the sum of one thousand five hundred ducats, which were due to him from several persons. The lord Cromwell finding him out, assisted him in the recovery of his due, and not only repaid him the sixteen ducats above-mentioned, but gave him sixteen hundred more, to make up his former losses.

Thus, we see, by whatever means our adventurer contrived to get abroad, he was but very little the better for it, with regard to his immediate circumstances; yet may it be truly said, that Cromwell, in his travels, laid the foundation of that fortune which he subsequently enjoyed; for being a man of great diligence, and having a natural inclination for state affairs, he took care to inform himself of the several laws, customs, and governments of the nations he had visited; and acquired so perfect a knowledge of the German, French, and Italian languages, that, when he came back into England, he could speak them fluently, and write them with correctness; these valuable accomplishments soon recommended him to the notice of cardinal Wolsey; and we find Cromwell was in that minister's service in 1522; who, on account of his great abilities, and equal industry, made

made him his solicitor, and frequently employed him in affairs of the utmost delicacy and importance. Cromwell, was the cardinal's principal instrument in founding the two colleges at Oxford and Ipswich: as he was, also, in suppressing the small monasteries which Henry VIII. allotted for the compleating and endowing those seminaries.

But nothing does so great an honour to the memory of Cromwell, as his fidelity and gratitude to his master Wolsey, when that minister fell into disgrace, to whom he never failed in the smallest circumstance of affection and respect, but got into parliament (in those days a thing not very difficult) purposely to defend his cause against his enemies; and he did it with so much strength of reason and eloquence, that no treason could be laid to the cardinal's charge: by this means, indeed, Cromwell derived great advantages to himself; for Henry, ever on the watch for able people to serve him, without considering what they might be in other particulars, took notice of a servant who could so boldly and successfully assert the cause of his degraded master; and, upon the dissolution of the cardinal's household, took Cromwell into his own service, though not without the additional recommendation of Sir Christopher Hales, master of the rolls, and Sir John Russel, already mentioned, who had represented him as the fittest person to manage the disputes which then subsisted between the king of England and the pope; and being thus introduced at court, he soon acquired a considerable share of the king's favour and confidence.

Cromwell in his religious sentiments, was known to be a favourer of the reformation; and having already been accessory to the demolition of some religious houses, his enemies, and the clergy in particular, loudly exclaimed against his promotion

promotion, but instead of endeavouring to win them over, he soon widened the breach, by making the king acquainted with an important secret respecting them, which he had discovered while he was at Rome: the new favourite told his majesty, that his authority was abused within his own realm, by the pope and his clergy, who being sworn to him, were afterwards dispensed from their oath, and sworn a-new to the bishop of Rome; so that he was but half their king, and they but half his subjects; which, as Cromwell justly observed, was derogatory to his crown, and altogether prejudicial to the common laws of his kingdom; declaring withal, that his majesty might accumulate to himself great riches, nay, as much as all the clergy in England were worth, if he pleased to take the occasion which now offered. This was a proposal the king readily listened to, and approving entirely of his advice, he asked Cromwell if he could confirm what he said; who answered, he could, to a certainty; and thereupon shewed his majesty the oath which the prelates took to the head of the church at their consecration; wherein they swore to help, retain and defend, against all men; the popedom of Rome; the rules of the holy fathers; the regalities of St. Peter, &c.

It is easy to conceive how agreeable such a discovery, which promised a new source of wealth, must have been to Henry, accordingly in the transport of his joy, he embraced Cromwell, and that no time might be lost, the convocation being then sitting, he took the royal signet from his finger, and sent Cromwell with it, to acquaint the clergy that they had all fallen into a premunire. The new minister thus deputed from the king, placed himself among the bishops, and silence being commanded, after enlarging upon the extent of the regal authority, and the obedience due to that, and the

the laws of the kingdom, he told them, the clergy had violated both, by acknowledging the legantine power of Wolfey in England, and by their oaths to the pope, which were contrary to the allegiance they had sworn to their sovereign, whereby they had forfeited to the crown all their goods, chattels, lands, possessions and livings. The bishops, hearing this, were not a little frightened and astonished, and at first attempted to excuse themselves, and deny the fact: but, after Cromwell had shewn them the very copy of the oath they took to the pope at their consecration, the matter was so plain, they could say no more against it: so, to be quit of the premunire by act of parliament, the two provinces of Canterbury and York were forced to make the king a present of one hundred eighteen thousand, eight hundred and forty pounds.

This transaction happened in the year 1531, and Cromwell soon after, had the honour of knight-hood conferred upon him, was made master of the Jewel Office, with a salary of fifty pounds a year, and sworn into the privy-council.

And thus having obtained a considerable degree of confidence and authority in the cabinet, he strenuously exerted his influence in parliament, and with the king, to forward the reformation. The parliament favouring his designs, in 1532, an act was passed against levying the *annates* or *first fruits*, a tax imposed by the court of Rome, for confirming the institution to benefices, and the consecration of bishops. And in 1533, another act was passed against all appeals to Rome, in causes cognizable in the English ecclesiastical courts. As a reward for these signal services, which increased the regal authority, Cromwell was made clerk of the Hanaper, and chancellor of the Exchequer.

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In 1534, Sir Thomas Cromwell arrived at the summit of ministerial power in those days, for he was made principal secretary of state, with which office he held that of master of the Rolls; and at the same time, he was elected chancellor of the university of Cambridge. To complete his good fortune, Ann Boleyn, who was an avowed friend to the reformation, having been solemnly crowned queen of England; this event produced an open rupture with the court of Rome, Henry being excommunicated for not adhering to the papal decision in favour of the marriage with Catherine.

Our prosperous statesman wanted only such a violent measure to justify those he proposed to take for the total suppression of the papal authority and influence in England. Accordingly, this year, the parliament enacted, that all payments to the apostolical chamber should be abolished; that all monasteries should be subject to the visitation and government of the king alone; the law for punishing heretics was altered in their favour; and it was declared to be no heresy, to speak or write against the pope's authority: In these regulations the convocation likewise concurred.

The following year Sir Thomas Cromwell was appointed *Visitor-General* of all the monasteries, and other religious communities throughout England; and as this office was of too extensive a nature to be executed by him in person, he nominated sundry commissioners under him, who have been charged by the Romish writers, with great excesses and cruelties in the exercise of their commissions; but no credit is to be given to the legends of the monks or their partisans, who would not fail to blacken the characters of those, who openly exposed the scenes of infamous lewdness, fraud and oppression, practised in the religious houses,

houses, which were a dishonour both to religion and humanity.

The king from the informations daily laid before him, concerning the scandalous lives of the monks and friars, judged it necessary to shew that Cromwell enjoyed his entire confidence and esteem; he therefore gave him the custody of the privy seal, on the second of July 1536; on the ninth of the same month, he was made a peer, by the title of lord Cromwell, baron of Okeham in Rutlandshire; and on the 18th, he was advanced to a new dignity, unknown in the kingdom before this time, and which may be properly styled, the highest and the first under the reformation. He was constituted *Vicar-General* and Vicegerent over all the spirituality under the king, now declared "Supreme head of the church." This high office, gave him precedence next to the royal family; it submitted all ecclesiastical causes to his jurisdiction, and gave him a seat in the convocation, as the king's representative, above the archbishops.

A most unfavourable event however had taken place, only a short time before Cromwell's elevation to this important office, which might have proved fatal to the reformation, if Henry's hopes of gain from the suppression of the monasteries had not overcome his inward attachment to the Romish faith. Queen Ann Boleyn had fallen a victim to his insatiable lust; for having indulged a passion for Jane Seymour, a lady of strict virtue, who would not listen to him on any other terms, but those of ascending the throne, he encouraged an accusation of incontinence brought against the queen, founded solely on some personal levities in her conduct, upon which charge she was tried, unjustly condemned, and tyrannically put to death on the 19th May, 1536; and that no doubt might remain of the real motive, the king was married
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the very next day to Jane Seymour, daughter of Sir John Seymour, and one of the late queen's attendants.

This revolution revived the hopes of the popish party, and obliged lord Cromwell to proceed with great caution in the exercise of the powers of his new office. However, he ventured this year to publish some articles of the new religion which differed in many essential points from the Roman catholic: seven sacraments were received in the church of Rome, but the new articles mentioned only three; namely, baptism, penance, and the eucharist: the bible, the Apostle's, the Nicene, and the Athanasian creeds, were made the standards of the religion of the state, and the doctrine of purgatory was declared to be doubtful. The clergy were likewise enjoined by the vicegerent, to preach up the king's supremacy, and prevent offerings of incense and kneeling to images, lest the vulgar should be led away by idolatry and superstition.

His next care was to encourage the translation of the bible into English, and when accomplished, he ordered a copy to be provided in every parish, at the expence of the minister and the parishioners, and to be placed in the churches, for the inspection of persons of every rank, as well laymen as clergy. Parents and guardians of youth were likewise ordered to teach them the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the ten commandments, in their mother tongue.

As these measures directly struck at the root of the Romish religion, and menaced its speedy extirpation, a formidable party headed by the popish clergy, excited insurrections in different parts of the kingdom, and the rebels of Yorkshire had the insolence to demand, that lord Cromwell should be brought to condign punishment, as one of the subverters of the good laws of the realm,
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but these disturbances being quelled, were so far from alienating the affection of the king from him, that, in the year 1537, as a farther token of his esteem, his majesty constituted him chief justice itinerant of all the forests beyond Trent; and, on the 26th of August, the same year, he was installed knight of the garter, as also dean of the cathedral church of Wells. In 1538 following, he obtained a grant of the castle and lordship of Okeham, in the county of Rutland, and was made constable of Carebrook castle in the Isle of Wight; and as he had been so instrumental in pulling down the monasteries for three years together, the king amply rewarded him for that service, in the year 1539, with many noble manors and large estates, that were formerly the property of those dissolved houses; and likewise advanced him to the dignities of earl of Essex, and lord high chamberlain of England.

Cromwell's acceptance of these great honours, drew upon him an additional weight of envy and ill-will; for there were then alive several branches of the noble family of Bouchier, last earl of Essex, who broke his neck by a fall from a young unruly horse; and these might justly think that they were entitled to the dignity of the late earl. The office of lord high chamberlain too had been for many years hereditary in the ancient and honourable family of the de Veres, earls of Oxford; so that upon the death of John de Vere, lord chamberlain, the heirs of it could not but be highly incensed against a person so meanly descended, for robbing them of what their ancestors had so long enjoyed. Add likewise, that on the same day that lord Cromwell was created earl of Essex, Gregory his son was, by his interest, made baron Cromwell of Okeham; he being on the 12th of March, 1540, put in commission with others, to sell the abby lands at twenty years purchase; which

which was a thing he advised the king to do, as the surest way to stop the clamours of the people, to conciliate their affections, and bring them to a liking of the dissolution of the monasteries.

Lord Cromwell's prosperity had been hitherto uninterrupted; but such is the uncertainty of human events, that his ruin was occasioned by an unhappy precaution he took to secure his power; and the greater his exaltation, the more sudden and fatal was his fall. In the year 1537, died queen Jane Seymour, two days after the birth of a prince, afterwards Edward VI. and Henry having overcome his real grief for the loss of this favourite wife, in the year 1539, began to turn his thoughts upon a German alliance; and, as the Lutheran princes were extremely disgusted against the emperor, on account of the persecution of their religion, he hoped, by matching himself into one of those families, to renew an amity which he regarded as useful to him; Cromwell joyfully seconded this motion; and perceiving that some of his bitterest enemies, particularly Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, began to be more in favour at court than himself, he exerted his utmost endeavours to bring about a marriage between the king and Ann of Cleves: for he imagined that a queen of his own making would powerfully support his interest; and, as the friends of Ann of Cleves were all protestants, their interest would assist him in destroying that of the popish faction, now prevailing again at court. But when Henry saw this princess, concerning whose person he had been deceived by a flattering picture, he declared she was a great Flanders mare, and he could never bear her any affection. He married her however, which Cromwell thought would be the means of reconciling him to her; but when he came full of anxious expectation, the morning after the nuptials, to enquire

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how the king found his bride, he had the mortification to be told, that his majesty hated her worse than ever; that he was resolved never to cohabit with her, and even suspected her to be no maid; however, Henry continued to be civil to the new queen, and even seemed to repose his usual confidence in Cromwell; but though he exerted this command over his temper, a discontent lay lurking in his breast, and was ready to break forth on the first opportunity: nor was it long before such a one offered as enabled him at once to gratify his resentment, and ingratiate himself with the public.

The meanness of Cromwell's birth had rendered him odious to all the nobility; the Roman catholics detested him, for having been so active in the dissolution of religious houses; and being encouraged by the duke of Norfolk, and Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, they raised so violent a clamour against him, that Henry, who was now as ready to hearken to his accusers, as he was before deaf to them, finding that several articles were ready to be brought against him, resolved to sacrifice him to that revengeful party, whose favour he was now courting on another account; which was a scheme he had planned, to marry Catherine Howard, the duke of Norfolk's niece, if by any means he could procure a divorce from the princess of Cleves, which Norfolk and Gardiner undertook to accomplish, if they were once fairly rid of Cromwell. Accordingly, the duke of Norfolk obtained a commission to arrest the earl of Essex at the council-board on the 10th of June, 1540, when he did not in the least suspect it; he was carried from the palace to the Tower, without knowing his accusers, or the crimes of which he was accused; yet, from his first commitment, he made no doubt of a design being laid against his

his life, because the duke of Norfolk had always been his professed enemy.

On the 17th of the same month, a bill of attainder against him, was brought into the house of lords; he was accused of heresy and treason; of setting persons at liberty, convicted of misprision of treason, without the king's assent; of receiving bribes; and of having granted licences to carry corn, money, horses and other things out of the kingdom, contrary to the king's proclamation. But what sufficiently shewed the spirit of the party was, a charge of having dispersed many erroneous books among the king's subjects, contrary to the belief of the sacraments. Several other things were alledged, equally frivolous, and though he had cleared himself from every accusation in letters to the king during his confinement; when brought to his trial, if it may be called such, barely to hear the charge, he was not suffered to speak in his own defence, and the bill of attainder passed both houses, after some alterations made in the lower house, where it was retarded ten days.

"It is plain to perceive," says Burnet, "that most of the articles of his impeachment, related to orders and directions he had given, for which, it is very probable, he had the king's warrant. And, for the matter of heresy, the king had proceeded so far towards a reformation, that what he did that way was, in all probability, done by the King's orders: but the king now falling from these things, it was thought they intended to stifle him by such an attainder; that he might not discover the secret orders or directions he had given him for his own justification. For the particulars of bribery and extortion, with which he was also charged, they being mentioned in general expressions, seem only cast into the heap to defame him. But, for treasonable words which were alledged against him

him, it was generally thought that they were a contrivance of his enemies; since it seemed a thing very extravagant, for a favourite in the height of his greatness, to talk so rudely: that if he had been guilty of it, Bedlam was a fitter place for his restraint than the Tower. Nor was it judged likely, that he, having such great and watchful enemies at court, any such discourses should have lain so long secret; or, if they had come to the king's knowledge, he was not a prince of such a temper, as to have forgiven, much less employed and advanced a man, after such discourses. And to think, that, during fifteen months after the words were said to have been spoken, none would have had the zeal for the king, or the malice to Cromwell, to repeat them, were things that could not be believed."

The earl of Essex had in his fall, the common fate of all disgraced ministers; to be forsaken by his friends, and insulted by his enemies. Archbishop Cranmer alone did not abandon him in his distress, but wrote to the king very warmly in his behalf. In his letter he expressed himself to this purpose: "Who cannot but be sorrowful and amazed, that he should be a traitor against your majesty; he, that was so advanced by your majesty; he, whose surety was only by your majesty; he, who loved your majesty (as I ever thought) no less than God; he, who studied always to set forward whatsoever was your majesty's will and pleasure; he that cared for no man's displeasure to serve your majesty; he that was such a servant, in my judgment, in wisdom, diligence, faithfulness, and experience, as no prince in this realm ever had; he that was so vigilant to preserve your majesty from all treasons, that few could be so secretly conceived, but he detected the same in the beginning. If
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the noble princes, of happy memory, king John, Henry II. and Richard II. had had such a counsellor about them, I suppose they should never have been so traiterously abandoned and overthrown as those good princes were."

But the duke of Norfolk, and the rest of the popish party, baffled all the application that was made in favour of the earl of Essex, who in pursuance of his attainder was sentenced to be beheaded on Tower-hill, the 28th of July 1540. Upon the scaffold, in tenderness to his son, he avoided all complaints against his enemies; and instead of vindicating himself, by a happy turn of thought, he acknowledged he had offended God by his sins, and thus merited death; he prayed for the king, and the prince, and then told the people, that he died in the catholic faith; but by this he evidently meant, the faith established by the new articles on the scriptures, and this is confirmed, notwithstanding the assertions of Popish authors, by his praying in English and to God through Christ, without any invocation of the Virgin Mary, or the saints.

After a short time passed in private devotions, he gave the signal to the executioner, who, being either unskilful or timid, cruelly mangled the unfortunate victim.

Thus fell Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex: a statesman of great abilities, joined with uncommon application to business. He had the public welfare at heart, which he pursued with great vigour and perseverance, but he sometimes extended the royal prerogative, at the expence of civil liberty. In his person he was comely; in his deportment manly and graceful; and though raised from a low, to the most elevated station, his character was free from pride, or arrogance; he was courteous and affable; easy of access; a friend to the poor and

and distressed; and remarkably charitable, no less than 200 persons being fed twice every day at his house in Throgmorton-street; to his dependents and domestics, he was a kind and liberal master; and for his gratitude to his friends and benefactors, an example highly worthy of imitation.

Authorities. Burnet's history of the reformation. Salmon's chronological historian. British Biography, &c.

The LIFE of

THOMAS HOWARD,
DUKE OF NORFOLK,

(With memoirs of his family, particularly Sir EDWARD HOWARD, Lord High Admiral of England.)

(A. D. 1492, to 1547.)

THIS nobleman having gained an ascendancy over the king for a short time, upon the fall of the earl of Essex, and the elevation of Catherine Howard his niece, to be queen consort, the reader is presented in this place, with the few memoirs we have of him upon record; in order to preserve a regular chain of historical facts from the accession, to the death of Henry VIII.

The progenitor of this illustrious family was John Howard, created duke of Norfolk by Richard III. in 1483, who at the same time created his son Thomas Howard, earl of Surry; but the duke being slain fighting on the part of Richard, at the battle of Bosworth Field, and his son being in the same service, his title was forfeited on the accession of Henry VII. However, in the fourth year of the reign of this prince, he was so far restored to the king's favour, that he appointed him to be one of his privy-council, and permitted him to resume the title of earl of Surry, and to take his seat in the house of peers. Afterwards, becoming very useful to the king in suppressing the insurrections of the Scots, he was made lord treasurer of England, in 1499, about which time his two sons, Thomas and Edward, began to be known at court, but the date of their birth is not ascertained. In the first year of Henry VIII. the father, being continued high treasurer, was likewise made Earl Marshal of England: he attended the king at the sieges of *Terouenne* and Tournay; and upon his return to England, was appointed general against the Scots, whom he defeated at the famous battle of Floudon Field, in 1513: his eldest son Thomas, whose life we are now entering upon, and Edmund Howard, a third son, served under him in this battle; which proved fatal to the Scots, their sovereign James IV. being slain in the action.

In consideration of the gallant services performed by the earl of Surry, and his sons; their father had the title of duke of Norfolk conferred upon him, and his eldest son, was created earl of Surry; by which creation he took his seat in the house of peers, not as the duke's son, but in his own right.

Here we must leave him for the present, while we do honour to the memory of his second brother

ther Sir Edward Howard, a gallant naval officer, who, so early as 1492, discovered a decisive inclination for the sea service, having embarked as a volunteer on board the fleet commanded by Sir Edward Poynings, and sent by Henry VII. to assist the duke of Burgundy against his rebellious subjects: for his signal bravery in this expedition, he had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him, and on the accession of Henry VIII. he made choice of Sir Edward to be his standard-bearer, a most distinguished office in those days.

In 1511, Sir Edward Howard, by the recommendation and interest of his father, who was then of the privy-council, was appointed by the king to command two ships, commissioned to clear the narrow seas of Scotch pirates, the most notorious of whom was one Sir Andrew Barton, suspected to be countenanced by James IV. of Scotland. In this expedition, his eldest brother, then Sir Thomas Howard served under him, and being separated by a storm, had the honour of engaging the Scotch ship commanded by Barton, who was killed in the engagement; but Sir Edward took Barton's other ship, and both were brought triumphantly into the river Thames.

The following year, Sir Edward Howard was made lord high-admiral of England, in which capacity he performed signal services against the French, with whom Henry was then at war; and in 1513, he put to sea with forty-two ships of the line, and forced the French fleet to take shelter in the harbour of Brest. Upon intelligence of this event, the king of France, ordered Pregent one of his ablest naval officers, to sail from Toulon, with a squadron of gallies; to endeavour to join the Brest fleet, and then to engage the English. Sir Edward Howard having information of this design, formed a plan for burning the French fleet

in the harbour, before the arrival of Pregent: but being willing to let the king have the honour of commanding in person, at the execution of an enterprise, the success of which he did not in the least doubt, he wrote home to that effect, but his letter being laid before the council, it was resolved to be an imprudent measure to advise the king to venture his person in such a dangerous attempt, the answer to Sir Edward was therefore couched rather in terms of reproof from the council; ordering him to do his duty, and not seek excuses. The admiral's bravery being long before this event, firmly established, he was greatly mortified at this rebuke; and perhaps it was owing to this circumstance, that he put in practice his constant maxim, "that a seaman never did good, who was not resolute to a degree of madness;" for soon after, he made an attempt to enter the harbour with fifteen hundred men, in boats, but the French coming down to the number of ten thousand to line the shore, he abandoned this design, and engaged in another not less brave, but equally rash: receiving intelligence, that Pregent was arrived in *Conquete Bay*, a little below Brest, with six gallies and four tenders, watching an opportunity to get into Brest; he manned the only two gallies he had in his fleet with some of his bravest men, and with two row-barges and two tenders, entered the bay. A brisk gale bringing them very soon along-side of the enemy, Sir Edward Howard having grappled his galley to that of the fourth admiral, resolutely boarded her, accompanied only by eighteen Englishmen and one Spaniard: but unfortunately the grappling tackle, either slipped or was cut away, by which means his galley was turned adrift, before any more of his men could board the enemy; he and his followers were left to the mercy of the French admiral, and disdain-

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ing to submit, were pushed over-board by the soldiers with their pikes, and perished in the sea: such was the untimely fate of the brave Sir Edward Howard; who was succeeded in his office of high admiral by his eldest brother Sir Thomas, who revenged Sir Edward's death on the French, by clearing the seas so effectually of the ships of that nation, that not a vessel durst appear: he also ravaged the coasts of Brittany; and for this, and other services, he was, as we have before observed, created a peer in 1514.

The same year, a peace being concluded with France, the new earl of Surry had no opportunity to exercise his military abilities till 1519, when the affairs of Ireland requiring the presence of an able general, to quell the insurrections and bloody contests of the chiefs, he was appointed lord deputy of that kingdom; which office he executed with such vigour and address, that without proceeding to any great severities, he suppressed the rebellion of the earl of Desmond, humbled the O'Neals and O'Carrols, and restored public tranquillity; which gained him the esteem and veneration of the people.

In 1522, he was recalled to take the command of the combined fleets of Henry VIII. and the Emperor Charles V. these princes having declared war against France, and entered into a close alliance. The earl of Surry sailed with the united fleets for the coast of Normandy, and landing some troops at Cherburgh, they ravaged all the adjacent country, and being re-embarked, the fleets returned to Portland. But in a short time after, the admiral invaded Brittany, took the town of Morlaix by assault; pillaged it; burnt seventeen sail of French ships; and then made for the port of Southampton, where he arrived in safety, with a very considerable booty. At Southampton he

found the Emperor Charles V. who had made a short visit to Henry, ready to embark for Spain. The earl of Surry therefore, gave the command of the fleets to the vice-admiral Sir William Fitz-Williams, afterwards earl of Southampton, with cruising orders, while he should convoy the emperor, in his own ship, to the port of St. Andero in Biscay.

In the following year, upon the resignation of the aged duke of Norfolk his father, he was made lord high treasurer; and about the same time, the king nominated him general of the army then raising to invade Scotland; the duke of Albany was regent of Scotland at this period, for James V. a minor; but the earl of Surry made such devastation in the shires of Tweeddale and March, that before the end of the year, he was glad to solicit for a truce, which Henry having granted, the earl of Surry returned to England, and the army was disbanded.

Historians fix the death of his father nearly at this period, to whose title, and remaining honours, he succeeded; for the king thereupon granted the new duke of Norfolk, the high office of Earl Marshal of England.

In 1524, he attended the king to France, and was sent ambassador extraordinary to Francis I. upon the occasion of that monarch's intended interview with the pope. From this time, we meet with no transaction worthy our notice respecting the duke, except the steady opposition he made to Cromwell's administration; but when the suppression of the monasteries had caused an open rebellion in the north, we find him again called forth in 1537, to assist the earl of Shrewsbury, who had the chief command in suppressing it; and though obliged in his military capacity, to act against the people whose cause he had at heart, for
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he was a violent enemy to the reformation, he seems from this time, in his quality of a courtier, to have set every engine at work to ruin Cromwell. This point being accomplished, through the female influence of his niece Catherine Howard; the duke in conjunction with Gardiner bishop of Winchester, once more raised the expectations of the popish party, by exciting the king to revive the persecutions of heretics, and to enforce the observance of the six bloody articles of religion; much about the same time, they laid a plot to take off archbishop Cranmer, the only remaining champion for the reformation in any credit at court; but of this more ample mention will be made in the life of Cranmer.

The last military service performed by the duke of Norfolk, was his commanding an army against the Scots in the latter end of the year 1542, war having been declared against James V. who died soon after: upon this expedition, he gave fresh proofs of his bravery, and of his eminent abilities as a general.

But the discovery of the queen's incontinence, which had been followed by her conviction and execution, the beginning of this year, had given the enemies of the duke, and of the popish cause, an opportunity during his absence in Scotland, to fill the king's mind with alarming suspicions, whose fears and jealousies increased as his health declined. It was suggested, that the duke of Norfolk was a popular man, and that he and his son Henry earl of Surry, had formed a design to seize the person of the king, to engross the administration of the government; and probably to set aside the succession of prince Edward, upon the strength of the statute, by which the issue of Ann Boleyn had been declared illegitimate. Considering the power and influence of the duke and
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his son, with the adherents to the old religion, who formed the majority throughout the kingdom, a prince less subject to jealousy than Henry, might have been justified in having a watchful eye over the duke, especially as he had the chief command of the army; but nothing could justify his tyrannic proceedings, after it fully appeared that no criminal charge could be maintained against either the duke or his son.

After his return from Scotland, the duke of Norfolk, found a visible alteration in the king's conduct towards him; he was no longer summoned to attend the cabinet council, and having complained of this privately to Mrs. Holland his mistress, she brought this in evidence against him, with some other trifling speeches made to her in confidence, which amounted to no more than the innocent repinings of a slighted courtier: but unfortunately for the young earl of Surry, he had frequently expressed his detestation of this woman: who now scrupled no forgeries to accomplish his ruin. A quarrel likewise subsisted between the duke and his dutchess, on account of the duke's open infidelity to the marriage bed, which she had the cruelty to revenge by joining his accusers and avowed enemies. In consequence of the informations given in to the council against them, the duke and his son were arrested for high treason, and committed to the Tower. Here the duke, according to the king's usual custom was treated with great rigour, being obliged to petition the council to be allowed some books, for he had subjected himself to a bad habit, not unusual with military men, of reading himself to sleep; and at length, in the course of his confinement, he was obliged to solicit for a change of sheets, so little regard did the unfeeling monarch shew to the high rank and great merit of this old, and faithful servant.

In hopes of obtaining a pardon, or greater indulgence in his confinement, the duke meanly made his submission to the king in a pathetic letter, and signed a confession, which hastened the fate of his son: for he acknowledged it as his greatest crime, that he had concealed the manner in which his son bore his coat of arms; thereby acknowledging such bearing to be a crime. It seems the earl of Surry, quartered the arms of England with those of Norfolk, as a descendant of Edward IV. his mother, the duke's first wife, being the daughter of that monarch. The earl's half sister the duchess of Richmond, and his stepmother the duchess of Norfolk, used their joint endeavours to cut off this unfortunate youth; the former giving in evidence, that her brother had a crown, instead of an earl's coronet to his arms on his seals, and a cypher which had the appearance of the royal signet: on these frivolous charges, he was tried by an ignorant jury of commoners at Guildhall, found guilty of high treason, and beheaded on Towerhill, the 19th of January 1547. This accomplished youth was no less valiant than learned, and of excellent hopes; he was a lover of the muses, and a reformer of English poetry.

It was intended that the duke should share the same fate, in a few days, the bill of attainder having passed the house of lords, but in the house of commons, fortunately for him, it met with some delay, but the king perceiving his own end approaching, and desirous to send Norfolk out of the world first, that he might not disturb the reign of his successor, commanded the commons to hasten the bill, upon which it was passed, and the royal assent being given by commission, the king being too weak to sign it, this execution was fixed for the 29th; but on the morning of the 28th of January 1547, Henry expired, in the 56th year

of his age, and the 38th of his reign; by which the warrant became null and void; and the council judging it highly imprudent to commence a new reign with the death of so popular a nobleman, his sentence was not carried into execution.

We have now conducted the reader to the close of the turbulent reign of Henry VIII. and as the thread of history requires us to enter upon that of his successor Edward VI. we must beg leave to consider the duke of Norfolk as dead in law at this period; which was the case, during the whole reign of Edward VI. for he was not released from the Tower, nor his attainder taken off till the accession of Queen Mary, in the beginning of whose reign, his natural death happened; in an advanced age.

But it must likewise be remembered, that we have not taken leave of the age of Henry VIII. to which we shall be obliged to return, in tracing the early transactions of some eminent men, who began to flourish under him, but who rose to the summit of reputation and finished their career of earthly glory, in the reigns of his successors Edward, and Mary.

The student in history, we apprehend, will be much better pleased, and find it more to his advantage, to cast a retrospect on past events regularly connected, than, for the sake of one life, extended to an extraordinary length (such as archbishop Cranmer's) to confuse the whole series of history during three reigns, by introducing it too early.

Authorities. Biog. Britan. Rapin's history of England. Salmon's chronological historian. British Biography.

The LIFE of
EDWARD SEYMOUR
 DUKE of SOMERSET.

(Including Memoirs of his brother Sir THOMAS
 SEYMOUR Lord SUDLEY.)

(A. D. 1537, to 1552.)

EDWARD SEYMOUR, was the son of Sir John Seymour, and brother to Jane Seymour, third wife of Henry VIII. and mother of Edward VI. no mention is made of this gentleman in history, till after the death of the queen his sister, when the king, in honour to the memory of this amiable lady, and intending that the prince should always have so near a relation about his person, created him earl of Hertford, in 1537; he had indeed, been made a peer, upon the king's marriage, by the title of Viscount Beauchamp; but he neither held any distinguished rank, or enjoyed any confidential office at court, till he was earl of Hertford; even for some time after, the interest of the duke of Norfolk and his friends, prevailed so far against his promotion, that he did not enjoy any considerable share of the king's confidence till after the disgrace of that nobleman; but in 1546, he was appointed lord chamberlain.

Upon the death of Henry, the earl of Hertford repaired to Enfield, where his nephew, the new sovereign resided, to inform him of his father's decease,

cease, and to conduct him to London : where, being a prince of the most amiable endowments, and of who the people had conceived the highest expectations, he was received with unusual demonstrations of joy ; and his accession was considered as the æra of deliverance from tyrannic cruelty, and bloody religious persecutions.

No sooner were the forms of government settled, pursuant to the will of his late majesty, who had appointed sixteen regents, than several of the council observed, that it must be very troublesome for the people, and especially for foreign ministers, to be under a necessity of applying to sixteen persons of equal authority, and proposed that some one should be chosen head and president, with the title of protector. This motion was vigorously opposed by the lord chancellor Wriothesly, who easily perceived that the dignity would be conferred on the earl of Hertford, by which means, his own power, being by his office, as things then stood, the second person in the regency, would suffer great diminution ; but the earl had so great a party in the council, that the question being put, it was carried in the affirmative, and it was unanimously agreed, on account of his relation to the king, and his experience in state affairs, that he should be declared regent and governor of the king's person, which was accordingly done, but with this express condition, that he should not undertake or perform any thing, without the consent of all the other executors to Henry's will.

The lord chancellor, who made the greatest opposition to the earl of Hertford's advancement, could expect but little favour from the new protector. The jealousy that subsisted between them soon became very conspicuous ; and the nation, being then divided between those who were attached to the old superstition, and those who desired a com-

pleat reformation, the protector set himself at the head of the latter party, and the lord chancellor of the former; and shortly after, the protector was created duke of Somerset, at the same time, that others of the regents and counsellors had new dignities conferred on them, upon the testimony of certain witnesses, to whom king Henry, just before his death, had opened his mind, concerning the honours he proposed to confer on those he distinguished with so high a trust. But besides the secular honours conferred on the duke of Somerset, we are informed by Dr. Burnet, that he had six good prebendaries promised him; two of these being afterwards converted into a deanery and treasurer'ship: and on the sixth of February, 1547, he knighted the king, being impowered so to do by letters patent: for as the laws of chivalry required that the king should receive knighthood from the hands of some other knight, so it was judged too great a presumption for his own subject to give it, without a warrant under the great seal.

The lord chancellor Wriothesley earl of Southampton, was, as has been already observed, the protector's adversary, and a great enemy to the reformation. The protector therefore wished to remove him, as did likewise the major part of the regents; and he soon afforded them a plausible pretence. Resolving to apply himself chiefly to affairs of state, he had, on the 18th of February, put the great seal into a commission directed to the master of the rolls, and three masters in chancery, empowering them to execute the lord chancellor's office in the court of chancery, in as ample a manner as if he himself were present. This being done by his own authority, without any warrant from the lord protector, and the other regents, complaint was made to the council, and it was ordered that the judges should give their
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opinions concerning the case, in writing. Their answer was, that the chancellor being only entrusted with his office, he could not commit the exercise thereof to others, without the royal consent, that by so doing he had by the common law forfeited his place, and was liable to fine and imprisonment during the king's pleasure. The chancellor fell into a great passion with the judges on this opinion being delivered in council, and he went so far as to tell the protector that he held his office of lord chancellor by an undoubted authority, since he held it from the king himself; whereas it was a great question whether he was lawfully protector. But this haughtiness accelerating his disgrace, he was immediately confined to his house till farther orders. Then it was debated what his punishment should be: it was not judged expedient to divest him of his share in the regency, but to render it useless to him, he was left under an arrest, and the great seal was taken from him, and given to Sir William Pawlet lord St. John, till another chancellor should be appointed: he remained in confinement till the 19th of July 1547, when he was released, upon entering into a recognizance of four thousand pounds, to pay whatever fine the court should think fit to impose upon him.

After the protector had got rid of this troublesome rival, he resolved to obtain the sole administration of the government, and with this view, he represented to the regents and the council, that it was controverted by several persons, whether they could, by their sole authority, name a protector; that the French ambassador in particular, had hinted, that he did not think he could safely treat with him without knowing whether he was duly authorised, since his title might be contested for the want of authority in those who had conferred

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it. To obviate this difficulty the protector, and the council, on the 13th of March 1547, petitioned the king, that they might act by a commission under the great seal, which might authorise and justify their proceedings. This patent being drawn, and the great seal set to it, the protector became absolute; having the council, which consisted of his own friends, at command: but on the other hand, this step, with some others of the like nature, which he made afterwards, drew upon him the ill will and envy of many persons, particularly the nobility, who, in the end, made him feel the effects of their resentment. The intrigues of the courtiers were however suspended for the present, by national concerns of a more important nature.

Henry VIII. had earnestly recommended it to his successor, to effectuate, if possible, the design he had formed, to unite the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, by a marriage between his son, and Mary the young queen of Scotland, daughter of James V. then an infant; and afterwards too well known in history, by her crimes and her misfortunes. A treaty for this marriage had been ratified by the regent and parliament of Scotland; but in a month after, the regent, the earl of Arran, secretly joined the party of cardinal Beatoun, who was in the interest of France, and suddenly renounced the treaty with England. In resentment of this perfidious conduct, Henry declared war against that nation, two years before his death; the protector therefore, now prepared to carry it on again, with vigour, and having raised an army of 18000 men, he marched into Scotland, accompanied by the earl of Warwick, afterwards duke of Northumberland, and his successor in the ministry; who was his lieutenant-general. On his arrival in Scotland, the protector
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ublished a manifesto, in which he urged many reasons to induce the Scots to consent to the marriage, but these having no effect, hostilities immediately ensued.

The earl of Arran had collected together the whole force of Scotland to oppose the English army: but though the Scots brought near double the number of forces into the field, the English gained a complete victory, in the famous battle of Pinkey or Musselburgh, fought on the 10th of September 1547. According to the most moderate computation, the Scotch had 10,000 slain, and the English not 200. After this victory the protector marched to Edinburgh, which he took and burnt, and then having taken Leith, with several other places of inferior note, he retired from Scotland, leaving the earl of Warwick to command the army, with full powers to treat with the regent's commissioners, who now sued for peace; but this was only an artifice to gain time for the arrival of succours from France, and therefore no commissioners appeared.

The political talents of the protector were by no means equal to his ambition, or the high station he held; and having created a number of enemies among the nobility, and the rest of the late king's executors, whom he had excluded from the regency, by assuming the sole power, cabals were formed against him, during his absence in Scotland, and the intelligence sent to him by his friends of these intrigues, increased the errors of his conduct in that expedition; for instead of pursuing the advantage his victory had given him, by proceeding to Stirling, where he might have got possession of the young queen, and thus have terminated the war, he precipitately hastened to England, and impolitically left the army under the command of a nobleman, who did not wish suc-
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cess to any enterprize, which would increase the protector's power or popularity.

Somerſet's enemies unfortunately found a proper tool to accompliſh his ruin, in his own family. Sir Thomas Seymour, his youngeſt brother, had been left in England, a man of an envious and haughty diſpoſition: he thought it hard that he ſhould be only a privy counſellor, when the king had made his brother one of the regents: he imagined, that being uncle to the king, he was intitled to much higher honour: and though, at his nephew's coronation, he was created lord Sudley, and in the ſame year was conſtituted lord high admiral of England, he was miſled by the flattering deluſions of ambition. Indeed the admiral immediately after Henry's death, diſcovered his aſpiring temper, by paying his addreſſes to the princeſs Elizabeth: but meeting with a repulſe, he ſolicited Catherine Parr, the queen dowager, and having obtained her conſent, married her privately, without communicating it to the duke his brother; but at length, finding means to procure a letter from the king, recommending him to the queen for a huſband, as ſoon as he got this letter, he declared his private marriage, without giving himſelf any trouble about his brother. Hence their quarrel firſt took riſe: but the protector, who was endowed with one quality eſſential to a courtier, moderation, did his utmoſt to prevent their quarrel from breaking out, though he all along entertained ſecret ſuſpicions of his brother.

It is beyond a doubt, that the protector's ſecret enemies fomented the admiral's ambition, by the praiſes they beſtowed upon him, confirming him in the ill opinion he had entertained of the duke his brother. He began his cabals, by gaining over the king's ſervants to his intereſt, that they might eſpouſe his cauſe with their young maſter, and

and endeavour to make him continue his good opinion of him. By their assistance, he so contrived it, that the king frequently came to his house to visit the admiral's wife. He strictly enjoined the king's servants, whom he had corrupted, to let him know when his majesty had occasion for money, telling them that they need not always trouble the treasury; for he would be ready to furnish him. By such practices, lord Sudley who was as ambitious, but not so honest as his brother, supplanted the protector in the king's esteem; and to add to the duke's misfortune, a violent quarrel happened between his duchess and the admiral's lady, the latter expecting from her former rank, and her peerage in her own right, not only the precedence, but that the duchess should bear her train, which she absolutely refused; being, according to Sir John Hayward, a woman for many imperfections intolerable, but for pride monstrous.

The enemies of the Seymours therefore, despairing of a total rupture between the two brothers, so strongly united by blood and interest, by any other methods; accomplished the ruin of both, by practising on their wives, whose animosity overcame the ties of blood, and whose pride superseded their common interest.

The admiral upon his brother's return, refused to listen to his private remonstrances against his ambitious projects, which he assured him could only end in his ruin; Sudley, deaf to his intreaties, now took a measure which obliged the protector to treat him as an open enemy, and perturbator of the public tranquillity. He represented to the young king, that his predecessors, being minors, had governors of their royal persons independent on, and distinct from the protectors of the realm; and the easy, credulous prince, who was grown fond

fond of Sudley from his condescension and indulgence, being unable to reflect deeply from his tender age, on a proposal highly agreeable to his own inclinations, imprudently wrote with his own hand a message to the house of commons, desiring them to make the admiral the governor of his person. This Sudley intended to have carried himself to the house, where he had a party, by whose means he was confident of carrying his point. He practised also with many of the nobility to assist him in it; but when his design took air, the council sent a deputation to him in his brother's name, to reason the case with him, and to prevail with him to proceed no farther. To these he arrogantly replied, that if he was crossed in his attempt, he would make this the blackest parliament that ever was in England: whereupon he was sent for the next day, by order from the council, but refused to come. He was then severely threatened, and told, that the king's writing was nothing in law; but that he, who had procured it, was liable to be punished for such; and it was resolved, to divest him of all his offices, to send him to the Tower, and to prosecute him upon the act of parliament, which made it death to disturb the government. This menace terrified him: for he plainly saw, that though he had the king on his side, a young prince, who was but just entered into his eleventh year would not have resolution enough to support him, contrary to the advice of the protector and the council; he chose therefore to submit himself, and his brother and he seemed perfectly reconciled. But though he seemed to have laid aside his ambitious projects for the present, he only deferred the execution of them, till a more favourable opportunity.

The success of the campaign in Scotland, though considered as imperfect, by profound politicians

ticians, gained the protector fresh credit with the people, and his popularity tempted him to neglect cultivating the esteem of the nobility, whose envy his conduct daily increased. For availing himself of the powers granted him by the patent, he advised with such members of the council only, as were devoted to his interest, treating the rest as mere cyphers. The best reason that can be assigned for this conduct is, his great zeal for the reformation. This made him think it necessary to remove from the administration those who were averse to its progress, that he might lessen their opposition as much as possible. The catholic party, to strengthen their interest, engaged the princess Mary, and the discontented lords, to espouse their cause: and the princess wrote to the protector to let him know, that she looked upon all innovations in religion, till the king came of age, to be incompatible with the respect due to her father's memory, and equally so, with their duty to their young master, as they thereby disturbed the peace of his kingdom, and engaged his authority in such points, before he was capable of forming a judgement concerning them. Some days before the meeting of the parliament in the year 1548, the lord Rich was made lord chancellor, and on the third of November, the day before the opening of the parliament, the protector, by a patent under the great seal, was warranted to sit in parliament on the right hand of the throne, under the cloth of state, whether the king was present or not, and invested with all the honours and privileges that any of the uncles of the kings of England, or any protector, had ever enjoyed. The parliament acting now under the influence of the protector, was this year very favourable to the reformation, particularly in passing an act to abolish private masses, and to grant the cup to the people in the communion.

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The restless disposition of the lord admiral broke forth again, this year, upon an alteration which happened in his family; in the month of September, the queen dowager, his wife died in child-bed, but not without suspicion of poison; for the admiral had formed a deep design, to become the head of the protestant party, by espousing the princess Elizabeth. The deceased queen was an amiable woman, whose conduct in every other respect, but her marriage with the admiral, too soon after the king's death, had been perfectly blameless, but she was a bigoted Roman catholic, and Sudley imagined, that this prejudiced the people against him, and in favour of his brother.

Soon after her death therefore, he renewed his addresses to the princess Elizabeth, but without success; however, the attempt occasioned an act for declaring the marriage of the king's sisters, without the consent of council, to be treason. Finding himself baffled in this scheme, he formed a design to carry away the king to his house at Holt, to dispossess the protector, and to seize the government himself: for this end, he laid in magazines of arms, and listed about two thousand, others say, ten thousand men, in several different places. He likewise entered into an association with several of the nobility, who envied his brother's greatness, and were not displeased to see the difference between them grown irreconcilable.

Most historians agree, that the protector being informed of all his proceedings, shewed himself extremely patient towards him, and refused to carry things to extremity, till he saw plainly, that one or other must inevitably be ruined. But, as Rapin justly observes, we cannot entirely rely upon what historians say of the admiral's private designs, or of the protector's forbearance: for, as some make it their business to blacken the protector's

tor's reputation as much as possible, so others strive to vindicate all his actions. It is, however, out of dispute, that the admiral was not satisfied with his condition, and at last, his ambition appearing incurable, he was on the 19th of January 1549, committed to the Tower; the day following the seal of his office was sent for, and put into secretary Smith's hands; after which, many things appeared against him; but his fate was suspended for the present.

In the mean time, the war with Scotland occasioned the protector great uneasiness. He was very sensible, that it was a ridiculous thing to think of getting the king's marriage with the queen of Scotland accomplished by force of arms, for he knew France was preparing to send them a very powerful aid; and therefore he saw plainly, that it would be a very hard task to succeed in this undertaking; besides, it was very likely this war would occasion a rupture with France, an event that would necessarily retard the progress of the reformation. He would have been very glad if the regent of Scotland would have accepted a ten years truce, which he proposed to him; but a powerful succour being expected from France, it was rejected. The protector was therefore forced, against his will, to continue the war; but, as he did not chuse to put himself at the head of the army, he gave the command of it to Francis Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, whom he appointed his lieutenant. On this occasion he plainly discovered that he intended to stretch the prerogatives of the protectorship as high as they could go, since he obliged the earl to hold his commission from him. However, as the patent he had obtained the 13th of March last year, did not so clearly give him the power of nominating his own lieutenant, he ordered another to be prepared,

pared, wherein his prerogatives were more fully explained and enlarged.

In this war, which was now carried on with but indifferent success, the protector made use of some German troops; which raised great murmurings against him; for it was easy to perceive, that the protector's aim was to strengthen his personal authority by the aid of these foreigners; and therefore this step was censured, even by his own party.

However, the duke, thus strengthened by foreign forces, devoted to the interest of the minister, by whom they had been brought into the kingdom and were to be paid, thought this a proper opportunity to make his brother submit quietly to his authority, or to sacrifice him to his own safety: he therefore made a final attempt to win him over to his interest, which he did by offering him a considerable estate, if he would withdraw from court and all public business. But the hatred the admiral bore the protector being insurmountable, on the 22d of February a full report was made to the council, with an accusation consisting of thirty-three articles.

It seems highly probable, that Lord Sudley was guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, since he answered only the three first articles, and that with much reluctance. The particulars of the charge were so manifestly proved, not only by witnesses, but by letters under his own hand, that it did not seem possible to deny them. Yet, when he was first sent to, and examined by some of the privy counsellors, he refused to make any direct answers, or to sign the evasive replies he had made; therefore, it was ordered, that, on the next day, all the privy council, except the archbishop of Canterbury, and Sir John Baker, speaker to the house of commons, who was obliged to attend at the house,

house, should go to the Tower, and examine him. Accordingly, the lord-chancellor, with the other privy counsellors, repaired to the Tower, and read to him the articles of accusation: they then earnestly desired him to make plain answers, to excuse himself where he could, and submit where he could not, without shewing any obstinacy of mind. To this he answered, that he expected an open trial, and to have his accusers confronted with him. The privy-counsellors used all the arguments they could think of to persuade him to be more tractable, but to no purpose. At last, the lord-chancellor required him, on his allegiance, to make his answer. He persisted to refuse making any answer, without having the articles left with him, that he might consider of them at leisure; but the counsellors would not consent to leave them with him on those terms.

On the 22d of February, 1549, it was resolved in council, that the whole board should, after dinner, acquaint the king with the state of the affair, and desire to know if it was his pleasure that the law should take place, and whether he would leave the determination of this affair to the parliament, as it had been laid before them; so cautiously did they proceed in a case which concerned the life of the king's uncle. But the youthful monarch had experienced his seditious temper, and had lately been much alienated from him. When the counsellors waited on his majesty, the lord-chancellor opened the matter to him, declaring it, as his opinion, that it should be left to the parliament. Then the other counsellors gave their opinions, in which they all agreed with the lord-chancellor. The protector spoke last: he protested, that this event gave him the greatest concern; that he had done his utmost to prevent it from coming to such an extremity; but, were it
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son or brother, he must prefer his majesty's safety to them, for he weighed his allegiance more than his blood; and that therefore he was not against the request, that the other lords had made. He added, that if he himself were guilty of such offences, he should deserve death; and the rather, because he was, of all men, the most bound to his majesty, and therefore he could not refuse justice. The king's answer was as follows: "We perceive, that there are great things objected and laid to my lord high admiral, my uncle, and they tend to treason; and, we perceive, that you require but justice to be done, we think it reasonable, that you proceed according to your request." Which words, (as it is observed in the council-book) coming so suddenly from his grace's mouth, of his own motion, as the lords might perceive, they were marvellously rejoiced, and gave the king most hearty praise and thanks: yet resolved, that some of both houses should be sent to the admiral, before the bill should be put in against him, to see what he could, or would say.

All this was done in order to bring him to a submission: the lord-chancellor, the earls of Shrewsbury, Warwick, and Southampton; Sir John Baker, Sir Thomas Cheyney, and Sir Anthony Denny, were sent to him. He long continued obstinate, but was at last prevailed upon to give an answer to the first three articles; and then he stopped on a sudden, and bid them be content, for he would go no farther; and no intreaties could work on him, either to answer the rest, or to set his hand to the answers he had made.

On the 25th of February, a bill of attainder was brought into the house of lords, and the peers had been so accustomed to agree to such bills in king Henry's time, that they made no difficulty

to pass it. All the judges, and the king's council, were unanimous in their opinions, that the articles amounted to treason. Then the evidence was heard; many lords gave it so fully, that all the rest, with one voice, consented to the bill; only the protector, "for natural pity's sake," desired leave to withdraw. On the 27th, the bill was sent down to the commons, with a message, that if they desired to proceed as the lords had done, those lords that had given their evidence in their own house, should come down, and declare it to the commons. But there was much opposition made to it in the house of commons. They could not forbear exclaiming against the prevailing practice of attainders, and the irregular manner of judging the accused, without confronting them with the witnesses, or hearing their defence. It was thought a very unwarrantable method of proceeding, that some peers should rise up in their places, in their own house, and relate somewhat to the slander of another, and that he should thereupon be attainted: they pressed therefore that it might be done by a trial; and that the admiral might be brought to the bar, and allowed to plead for himself. They would, in all probability, have thrown out the bill, if the king had not sent them a message, that he did not think the admiral's presence necessary; and that it was sufficient they should examine the depositions which had been produced in the house of lords:

The king having thus intimated his pleasure, the commons, in a full house of four hundred, passed the bill, not above ten or twelve voting in the negative. The royal assent was given on the 5th of March, 1549, and on the 10th of the same month, the council resolved to press the king, that justice might be done on the admiral. It is said, in the council-book, that since the case was so heavy

heavy and lamentable to the protector, though it was also sorrowful to them all, they resolved to proceed in it, so that neither the king, nor he should be further troubled with it. After dinner, they went to the king, the protector being with them. The king said, He had well observed their proceedings, and thanked them for their great care of his safety, and commanded them to proceed in it, without further molesting him or the protector, and ended, "I pray you my lords, do so." Upon this, the bishop of Ely had orders to attend the admiral, to administer spiritual advice, and to prepare him to meet his fate with patience and resignation: and, on the 17th of March, having made report of his attendance on the admiral, the council signed a warrant for his execution, in pursuance whereof, the admiral was beheaded on the 20th of March 1549.

The protector upon this occasion incurred very severe censures, for consenting to his death. It was said, if the admiral was guilty, it was only against his brother, whom he would have supplanted, and it seems scarce to admit of a doubt, that this same brother was the admiral's rival, and brought him to the scaffold. Rapin justly observes, that they who had thoughts then of ruining the protector, feigning to be his friends, spurred him on to be revenged on his brother, and were very ready to serve as his instruments: accordingly, this catastrophe increased the animosity of the nobles, which was carried to the highest pitch, by the protector's conduct in countenancing the people upon the following just occasion.

After the suppression of the abbeyes, vast numbers of monks were dispersed through the kingdom, who were forced to work for their bread, their pensions being ill paid, or not sufficient for their subsistence: thus the work being divided

among so many hands, the profit became less than before, besides, while the monasteries stood, their lands were let out at very easy rents to farmers, who, to cultivate them, were obliged to employ a vast number of people. But after their lands were fallen into the hands of the nobility and gentry, the rents were much raised, whence it came to pass that the farmers, to make them turn to better account, were forced to employ fewer hands, and lessen the wages. On the other side, the proprietors of the lands, finding since the last peace with France, the woollen trade flourished, bethought themselves of breeding sheep, because wool brought them in more money than corn. To that end, they caused their grounds to be inclosed: hence arose several inconveniencies. In the first place, the price of corn was raised to the great detriment of the lower sort of people; in the next place, the landlords or their farmers had occasion only for few persons to look after their flocks in grounds so inclosed. Thus many were deprived of the means of getting a livelihood, and the profit of the lands, which was before shared by a great many, was almost wholly engrossed by the landlords; this occasioned great complaints and murmurs among the common people, who saw they were likely to be reduced to great misery; nay, several little books were published, setting forth the mischief which must result from such proceedings. But the nobility and gentry continued the same course notwithstanding, without being at all solicitous about the consequences. The protector openly espoused the cause of the poor people, because he was aware of the mischiefs which might arise from popular discontent; and appointed commissioners to examine, whether those who held the abbey-lands, kept hospitality, and performed all the conditions upon which those

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lands were sold them; but he met with so many obstacles in the execution of this order, that it produced no effect.

Thus the protector continued to aggravate the hatred of the nobility and gentry, who found their account in countenancing these abuses: for, in the last session of parliament, the lords passed a bill for giving every one leave to inclose his grounds if he pleased: but it was thrown out by the commons, and yet the lords and gentlemen went on inclosing their lands; this occasioned a general discontent among the people, who had apprehensions of a formed design to ruin them, and reduce them to a state of slavery; upon this the common people made an insurrection in Wiltshire, but Sir William Herbert dispersed them, and caused some of them to be hanged. About the same time there were the like insurrections in Suffex, Hampshire, Kent, Gloucestershire, Suffolk, Warwick, Essex, Hertfordshire, Leicestershire, Rutlandshire, and Worcestershire. The protector perceiving the flames were kindling all over the kingdom, sent to let the people know he was ready to redress their grievances, by this measure he stopped their fury; and agreeable to his promise, he laid the affair before the council, hoping that some expedient might be found to satisfy the malecontents: but he met with so great an opposition, that he thought it absolutely necessary to have recourse to his sole authority, and therefore, contrary to the opinion of the whole council, he issued out a proclamation against all new inclosures, and granted a general pardon to the people for what was past. He even went further, for he appointed commissioners with an unlimited power, to hear and determine causes about inclosures, highways, and cottages: these commissioners were much complained of by the nobility and gentry,

who said openly, that it was an invasion of their property to subject them to an arbitrary power; they also went so far as to oppose the commissioners when they offered to execute their commission; therefore the protector was not able to redress this grievance so fully as he desired; and the people finding the court did not perform what was promised, rose again in several places, particularly in Oxfordshire, Devonshire, Norfolk, and Yorkshire. Those in Oxfordshire were immediately dispersed by the lord Grey: the insurrection in Devonshire was more considerable and dangerous; that county abounding with people, who had only complied outwardly with the alterations made in religion, the priests and monks ran in among them, and used their utmost efforts to foment the rebellion. They rose on the 10th of June, and in a short time grew to be ten thousand strong. At first, the protector neglected this affair, hoping this insurrection might be quelled as easily as the others had been. At last, perceiving they were bent to persist in their rebellion, he sent the lord Russell with a small force to stop their proceedings. The rebellion was soon quelled; and, during the continuance of it, the protector discovered, by the whole tenor of his conduct, that he did not desire to come to extremities with the rebels, being either persuaded that the people had reason to complain, or, desirous to gain their favour as a shield against the nobility, who hated him. Inasmuch, that after all the commotions were over, he moved in the council that a general pardon might be proclaimed, in order to restore the peace of the kingdom: but this motion met with great opposition; many of the council were for taking this occasion to curb the insolence of the people; but the protector being of another mind, gave out, by his sole authority, a general pardon

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pardon of all that had been done before the 21st of August, and excepted out of it only a few rebel prisoners. He had power to act in this manner by virtue of his patent, but it increased the hatred of the nobles, as well as great part of the council, who were highly mortified to see they were consulted only for form-sake, and that their opinions were of no manner of weight. But by this prudent and moderate exertion of an illegal prerogative, it is certain, that the protector put an end to a most alarming rebellion, which wore the aspect of being converted to a civil war, for both sides had powerful partisans, and the people were violently exasperated against the land-holders. The insurrection in Norfolk was the most formidable, but as it was quelled by the address of the earl of Warwick, afterwards duke of Northumberland, more ample mention will be made of it in the life of that minister, the protector's subtle enemy, and successor.

The war with Scotland, had been productive of another, with Henry II. of France, who ascended the throne of that kingdom upon the death of Francis I. in 1547; a rupture with the emperor Charles V. was likewise to be apprehended on account of the assistance given by the English ministry to the German protestants, his discontented subjects. This situation of foreign affairs was too embarrassing for the limited capacity of the protector. Dreading the machinations of a powerful faction now formed against him at home, with whom the Romish party were secretly allied, he was afraid to hazard the conduct of three wars, under such distressing circumstances; and therefore resolved to listen to the overtures of France, that court offering peace, and its assistance to the German protestants, if England would restore Boulogne.

While this peace was privately negotiating; the earl of Warwick, and the earl of Southampton, the disgraced chancellor, who had recovered his seat in the privy council, associated themselves with about eighteen lords of the council, who agreed to withdraw from court, and openly oppose the protector.

Among many other fresh causes of jealousy, envy and hatred against the duke, none had any effect with the public at large, except the superb palace, he was building in the Strand (Somerset-house) and as this impolitic undertaking greatly lessened his popularity, we shall borrow from Sir John Hayward's life of Edward VI. his curious relation of this interesting transaction.

"Many well disposed minds conceived a hard opinion of him, for that a church by *Strand-bridge*, and two bishops houses were pulled down, to make a seat for his new building: in digging the foundations whereof, the bones of many who had been buried there, were cast up, and carried into the fields; and because the stones of those houses, and of the church, did nothing suffice for his work, the steeple and most part of the church of *St. John of Jerusalem*, near Smithfield, (most beautifully erected and adorned not long before, by Docray, prior of that church) was mined and overthrown with powder, and the stones applied to this spacious building. And because the work could not be therewith finished, the cloister of *Paul's* on the north-side of the church, in a place called *Pardon church-yard*; and *the dance of death*, very curiously wrought about the cloister, and a chappel that stood in the midst of the church-yard; also the charnel-house that stood on the south-side, with the chappel, tombs, and monuments therein, were beaten down, the bones of the dead carried
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into *Finbury Fields*, and the stones converted to his building."—p. 204 & 205, edit. 1636.

It was also alledged by the lords, that many bishops, and prebends had resigned many manors to him to obtain his favour: though this was not done without leave obtained from the king, for, in a grant of some lands made to him by the king, on the 11th of July, in the second year of his reign, it was observed that these lands were given him as a reward of his services in Scotland, for which he was offered greater rewards: but, that refusing to accept of such grants as might too much impoverish the crown, he had taken a licence from the bishop of Bath and Wells, for alienating some of the lands of that bishopric to him. He is, in that patent, called by the grace of God, duke of Somerset; which expression, by the grace of God, had not been used for some years past, but in speaking of sovereign princes. It was also reported, that many of the chantry lands had been sold to his friends at easy rates; for which they concluded he had great presents, and an uncommon prosperity had raised him too high; so that he did not behave to the nobility with that condescension which might be expected from him.

All these things concurred to raise him many enemies, and he had very few friends; for none adhered firmly to him but Paget, secretary Smith, and archbishop Cranmer, who was never known to forsake his friend. All those that favoured the old superstition were his enemies; and, seeing the earl of Southampton at the head of the party against him, they all immediately joined with him. Goodrich, bishop of Ely, tho' he was for the reformation, likewise joined them. He had attended the admiral in his preparation for death, from whom he had received very ill impressions of the protector. Even his enemies were sensible, and

he was sensible himself, that the continuance of war would inevitably ruin him, and that a peace might confirm him in his power.

This consideration made the protector resolve to propose to the council, the restitution of Boulogne to France : but though he backed this motion with all the reasons he thought most plausible, it was received by the council with signs of indignation, and considered as downright cowardice. It was too nice an affair for the protector to think of doing it by his own authority ; and therefore, though he plainly perceived the opposite faction would carry it, he was willing his proposal should be debated in form.

The result of their consultation was, that Boulogne should not be restored, but that they should endeavour to make an alliance with the emperor for the security of that place. Paget was appointed for the embassy, because, being devoted to the protector, the ill success which was expected to attend this negotiation was designed to be thrown upon him, in order to asperse the protector himself.

This mortifying repulse at the council board, was followed by an open declaration from the associated lords, who usually met at Ely-house, that they considered themselves as the king's council, and were determined to take vigorous measures for the safety of the king and of the realm, both of which were endangered by the usurped, unlimited power of the duke of Somerset ; and on the 6th of October, 1549, the lord St. John, president of the council, the earls of Southampton, Warwick, and Arundel ; Sir Edward North, Sir Richard Southwel, Sir Edmund Peckham, Sir Edward Wotton, and Dr. Wotton, sat accordingly as the king's council.

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The protector alarmed, sent his secretary Petre to them, to know the cause of their assemblies, but instead of returning, he remained with the associated lords, embracing their party. On the 8th of the same month, they went into the city, in a body well armed, and attended with a train of servants in new liveries, to Guildhall, where finding the lord mayor, aldermen and common council assembled, notice having been previously sent to them for that purpose, the lord chancellor Rich, who with some of the great officers of state had joined the association, declared to the citizens, that the objects they had in view were, to secure the personal safety of the king, to redress the grievances of the nation, and to recover its weight and influence at foreign courts, by removing the duke of Somerset from the king's person and councils, whose mal-administration had been the cause of all the misfortunes which had befallen the realm, both in its foreign and domestic concerns for some time past. Upon this declaration, the city expressed an entire approbation of the measures taken by the lords; but when a requisition was made, that the city should supply them with 2000 men to enable them to oppose the measures of the protector, who had removed the king from Hampton-court to Windsor, and had armed all his dependants; one George Sadlowe, a common-councilman, opposed the motion, though supported by the recorder, and after justly observing, that the mayor had received a letter from the king, commanding the aid of 1000 men to protect his person against the designs of the lords, he advised his fellow citizens to observe a strict neutrality, by not granting any armed force to either party.

But the duke of Somerset, struck with a panic, on being informed that the lords were in possession of the Tower, and that the city had expressed a
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general approbation of the confederacy against him, resolved to submit to his fate, without giving the new council any further trouble.

Hereupon, there was sent to London a warrant under the king's hand, for any two of the lords of the council that were there, to come to Windsor with twenty servants each, who had the king's faith for their safety in coming and going: at the same time Cranmer, Paget and Smith wrote to them, to end the matter peaceably, and not follow cruel council, nor suffer themselves to be misled by those who meant otherwise than they professed, of which they knew more than they would then mention. This seemed to be levelled at the earl of Southampton. On the 9th of October 1549, the council at London was increased by the accession of lord Russel, lord Wentworth, sir Anthony Brown, sir Anthony Wingfield, and sir John Baker, the speaker of the house of Commons. For those who had been for a while attached to the protector, seeing he was resolved to submit, came and united themselves to the prevailing party; so that they were in all two and twenty: and the protector was so weak, to write a letter to the earl of Warwick, couched in such humiliating terms of complaint, expostulation and intreaty, that his enemies plainly perceived they had gained their point, and they resolved to shew him no mercy: for they instantly published a proclamation, signed by seventeen persons, either for nobility, or authority of office well regarded, "ascribing all the national disgraces abroad, and the intestine divisions at home, to the evil government of the duke, and protesting that his administration threatened worse dangers; they desired, and in the king's name, charged all his subjects not to obey any precepts, licences, or proclamations, whereunto the protector's hand should be set, albeit, he should abuse the
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king's hand and seal unto them, but to quit themselves, upon such proclamation, as should proceed from the body of the council." *Hayward*, p. 229.

Of all the privy-counsellors only the archbishop of Canterbury and Paget stayed with the king, who seeing the impossibility of withstanding the opposite party, had advised the king and the duke to give the council the satisfaction they required. The king consenting to it, the counsellors at London had notice of it by an express. As they had foreseen that the duke would be obliged to yield, they sent deputies to Windsor with a charge, to see that he did not withdraw, and that some of his confidants should be put under an arrest. On the 12th of October, the chief privy counsellors, enemies of the duke, waited on the king, who received them graciously, and assured them, that he took all they had done in good part. Next day they sat in council, the king being present; when Somerset was formally deprived of the protectorship, and all other public offices, and was ordered into confinement in Beauchamp tower, within Windsor castle. Then the lords appointed seven of the lords of the council, and four knights, to attend the king's person by rotation, and having brought his majesty to Hampton-court; the duke of Somerset was soon after escorted to London, riding through that city between the earls of Southampton and Huntingdon, who delivered him to the sheriffs, by whom he was carried to the Tower, by virtue of a warrant to them, from the king and his new council.

A rumour having been propagated about this time, that the confederate lords had designs upon the king's life, and meant to change the form of government to an aristocracy, it was judged expedient that their beloved prince should appear to the people

people in public, accordingly he rode from Hampton-court to his palace in Southwark (then called Suffolk place) where he dined, and in the afternoon, he rode in great state, attended by the principal lords of the confederacy, through the city to Westminster, whereat the people were so exceedingly rejoiced, as the king reigned in the hearts of all persons, however differing in religion, that they did rend the air with loud acclamations, and seemed to have entirely forgot their favourite, the late protector.

On the second of January, 1550, a bill of attainder was carried into the house of lords against the duke, with a confession signed by his own hand. But as some of the lords suspected that this confession had been extorted from him, and urged, that it was an ill precedent to pass acts upon such papers, without examining the party, whether he had subscribed them free and uncompelled; the house sent four temporal lords, and four bishops, to examine him concerning it. The next day, the bishop of Coventry and Litchfield made the report, that he thanked them for that kind message; but, that he had freely subscribed the confession which lay before them; that he had made it on his knees before the king and council, and had signed it on the thirteenth of December. He protested his offences had flowed from rashness and indiscretion rather than malice, and that he had no treasonable design against the king or his realms. Whereupon, he was fined by act of parliament in two thousand pounds a year in land, with the forfeiture to the king of all his goods, and the loss of all his places. But he was set at liberty on the sixth of February, giving a bond of ten thousand pounds for his good behaviour, with a restriction, that he should stay at the king's house at Sheen, or his own of Lion, and

and should not go four miles from them, nor come to the king or council, unless sent for. On the 16th of the same month, he received his pardon, and, after that, behaved with so much humility, that he was, on the tenth of April following, restored to favour by the king, and sworn of the privy-council; and the storm passed over more gently than he expected. He forfeited, however, in a great measure, the esteem he had acquired among the people, who, not diving into the reasons of his conduct, could not help thinking him guilty, since he had confessed all: but the king, who had a quick judgement, saw through the designs of his enemies; but though he privately esteemed him, his own authority was not sufficient to screen him from their determined vengeance.

But the affection the king still bore to his uncle, being observed by the crafty earl of Warwick, he made a semblance of being reconciled to the duke of Somerset, and the more effectually to deceive the public, his eldest son, the lord viscount Lisle, was married to lady Ann Seymour, daughter to the duke, on June 17, 1550; the king being present at the solemnity, and expressing the highest satisfaction at this alliance.

The popish party formed great expectations from the disgrace of the duke of Somerset, but it was soon found that his successor in power, the earl of Warwick, had no particular attachment to any religion, yet was most inclined to the reformation, because he saw the king was zealous in promoting it; he therefore abandoned the Roman catholic interest, by which he had been supported; and this gave the duke of Somerset and his friends, a fair prospect of undermining him; and it is certain, that from the time Warwick became prime minister, Somerset was constantly forming private schemes to recover his lost dignity, and that his antagonist, wishing

wishing for a favourable opportunity to sacrifice so dangerous a rival, employed spies to watch all his motions, and as the contest was very unequal between them, Warwick having all the qualities of a deep politician, and Somerset, a free, open, unguarded, communicative disposition; it is no wonder he was so soon betrayed by his perfidious confidants, who were secretly bribed by Warwick.

By one of these, his ruin was accomplished. For Warwick having by degrees alienated the young king's affection from his uncle, and gained an ascendancy over him by his skilful management of public affairs, began to throw off the mask, and to treat the duke with contempt and ill usage, that he might thereby excite him to some act of desperation, which might justify putting him to death. The unguarded Somerset upon this, broke out into threatening expressions, and it is said, had thoughts of assassinating the new minister, now duke of Northumberland. The chief informer against Somerset was Sir Thomas Palmer, who accused him first privately to the king, and afterwards to the council, of having formed a design to raise an insurrection in the North; to attack the *gens d'armes*, the king's guard, on a muster-day: to secure the Tower; and to excite a rebellion in London: to this was added, the plot to murder the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Pembroke, and this last charge was supported likewise by the evidence of one Crane and his wife, confidential dependants on the duchess of Somerset, and Crane in particular deposed, that the plot was to be carried into execution, at a banquet to be given by lord Paget to the devoted lords. Upon these suspicions of treason and felony, the king too readily consented, that his uncle should be brought to a trial; and very soon after, a circumstance which ought

to have been construed in his favour, was made use of to confirm the accusations against him.

Somerfet, yielding too much to the fear of a sudden attempt upon his own life, had been persuaded to wear a coat of mail next his shirt, and going thus dressed to the council-board on the 16th of October, 1551, his bosom, by inattention, being open, the armour was discovered, upon which he was forthwith apprehended as intending the death of some counsellor, and the duke of Northumberland in particular taxed him so vehemently, that he was ordered to the Tower, and attachments were issued against all his pretended associates. In consequence of these proceedings, some of the accused fled upon the first summons, particularly Sir Thomas Vane, who was taken in a stable at Lambeth hid under the straw, and this foolish conduct seemed to confirm the truth of the plot. The next day the duchess of Somerfet, lord Grey of Wilton, Crane and his wife, and the chief waiting-woman belonging to the duchess were committed to the Tower, at which the people exceedingly rejoiced, believing if there was any real mischief on foot, the duchess must have been the chief contriver and instrument of it. Sir Thomas Holdcroft, Sir Miles Partridge, Sir Michael Stanhope, John and David Seymour, Wingfield, Bannister and Vaughan were likewise committed to different prisons; but Sir Thomas Palmer, Sir Ralph Arundel, Hammond Nudigate, and Sir Thomas Vane, (who turned evidence) were treated with great tenderness, and held in custody in apartments at court: to be produced as the principal accusers.

Upon the further examination of Crane, the earl of Arundel, lord Paget, and two of the earl of Arundel's servants were also taken into custody: and in order to prejudice the public against the duke

duke of Somerset, the lord chancellor made an elaborate speech in the star-chamber, on the accusations against the duke, giving his opinion in public, against every rule of equity, previous to the trial, that they were true; and the foreign ministers were instructed to write to their respective courts, that he was guilty, as implicitly as if he had already been convicted.

Upon these extravagant accusations, most historians have founded their accounts of this event. Dr. Burnet is the only one, whom we can depend upon with regard to the evidence against the duke: according to him, it appeared, that he had made a party to get himself declared protector in the next parliament; which the earl of Rutland did positively affirm, and the duke's answer served only to confirm it to be true. But though this might well inflame his enemies, yet it was no crime. As to the means which the duke of Somerset intended to make use of, in order to attain his ends, it is highly probable he had devised several, but had yet fixed upon none, except that, perhaps, of securing the duke of Northumberland's person.

On the first of December the duke was brought to his trial; the marquis of Winchester was lord high steward, the peers who sat in judgement being twenty-seven in number. The crimes with which he was charged, were cast into five several indictments, as it appears from the king's journal; but whether indictments or articles is not clear. That he had designed to have seized on the king's person, and so to have governed all his affairs; that he intended to have attacked the *gens d'armes* on a muster day; that he, with one hundred others, intended to kill the earl of Warwick, then duke of Northumberland; and that he had designed to raise an insurrection in the north; and in the city of London.

It

It was objected on the trial, that three peers, Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, against the first of whom it was pretended in the indictment, that he had conspired, should sit as his judges: for though, by the law, no peer can be challenged in a trial, yet it was ever held, that a man cannot be judge in his own cause, but the objection was over-ruled; and, what is very extraordinary, the lord-chancellor, though then a peer, was left out of the number; but it seems probable, that the reconciliation between him and the duke of Somerset was then suspected, and that he was therefore excluded from the number of his judges.

The duke of Somerset, though little acquainted with the laws of the land, did not desire counsel to plead or assist him in point of law, but only answered himself to matters of fact. He began his defence, by requesting, that no advantage might be taken against him, for any idle word, or passionate expression, that might at any time have escaped him. He protested, he never intended to have raised the northern parts; but had only, upon some reports, sent to Sir William Herbert, to intreat him to be his friend: that he had never formed a resolution to kill the duke of Northumberland, or any other person, but had only talked of it, without any intention of doing it: that, for the design of destroying the guards, it was ridiculous to think, that he, with a small troop, could destroy so strong a body of men, consisting of nine hundred; in which, though he had succeeded, it could have signified nothing: that he never intended to have raised any disturbances in London, but had always looked upon it as a place in which he was in perfect security: that his having men about him in Greenwich was with no ill design, since he did no mischief with them, even when it was

in his own power; but, upon his attachment, surrendered, without making any resistance. He likewise objected many things against the witnesses, and desired they might be brought face to face. He spoke much against Sir Thomas Palmer, the chief witness, in particular. But the witnesses were not brought, only their examinations were read. Upon this, the king's counsel pleaded against him, that to levy war was certainly treason: that, to assemble men, with an intention to kill privy-councillors, was also treason: that to have men about him to resist the attachment, was felony; and, to assault the lords, or contrive their deaths, was felony.

When the peers withdrew, it seems, the proofs about his design of raising the north, or the city, or of killing the guards, did not satisfy them. For all these had been, without all question, treasonable; but they held to the point of conspiring to kill the duke of Northumberland. The duke of Suffolk was of opinion, that no contention among private subjects, should be on any account screwed up, to be high treason. The duke of Northumberland said, he would never consent that any practice against him should be reputed treason. After a great difference of opinion, they all acquitted him of treason; but the greater number found him guilty of felony; in which sentence they proceeded upon a statute made in the reign of Henry VII. which declared it felony for inferior persons to intend to take away the life of a privy-councillor, but lords were therein expressly excepted: and therefore, as Hayward observes, Somerset, being both a peer and privy councillor, the statute could not affect him.

If he duke behaved, during the whole time of his trial, with great temper and patience: when sentence was given, he thanked the lords for their attention,

attention, and asked pardon of Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, for his ill intentions against them; and made suit for his life, in pity to his wife, children and servants, and in regard of payment of his debts.

He was then remanded to the Tower, and because he was acquit of treason, the axe was not openly carried, whereupon the people, supposing that he was altogether acquit, shouted half a dozen times so loud, that they were heard beyond Charing Cross. *Hayward, p. 330.*

It is highly probable the duke relied on a pardon, having before experienced the king's clemency; otherwise it is hard to account for his not availing himself of the benefit of clergy, however his popularity served only to increase the fears of the court, and great pains had been taken to prepossess the king against him, so that young Edward, who abhorred the crimes he believed him guilty of, was very far from any thoughts of granting him a pardon, and in order to prevent it effectually, the king was told, that the duke had confessed in the Tower, that he had hired one Bartuile to kill some of the lords of the council, which Bartuile was said to have acknowledged.

At the same time the courtiers artfully "entertained the king with stately masks, tilts, barriers, and much other variety of mirth," to divert his thoughts from his condemned uncle; and the duke's relations and friends were prevented from approaching the royal presence. And at length he consented to his death, whereupon an order was sent for beheading the duke of Somerset on the 22d of January, 1552, on which day he was brought to the place of execution on Tower-hill. His whole deportment was very composed, and no way changed from what it had ordinarily been. He first

first kneeled down, and prayed, and then he spake to the people in these words. " Dearly beloved friends, I am brought here to suffer death, albeit that I never offended against the king, neither by word or deed, and have always been as faithful and true to this realm, as any man hath been. But, for so much as I am by law condemned to die, I do acknowledge myself, as well as others, to be subject thereto: wherefore, to testify my obedience, which I owe unto the laws, I am come hither to suffer death, whereunto I willingly offer myself; with most hearty thanks to God, that hath given me this time of repentance, who might, through sudden death, have taken away my life, that neither I should have acknowledged him, nor myself. - Moreover, there is yet somewhat that I must put you in mind of, as touching Christian religion, which, so long as I was in authority, I always diligently set forth, and furthered to my power; neither repent I of my doings, but rejoice therein, since that now the state of Christian religion cometh most near unto the form and order of the primitive church, which thing I esteem as a great benefit given of God, both to you and me; most heartily exhorting you all, that this, which is purely set forth to you, you will, with like thankfulness, accept and embrace, and set out the same in your living; which thing, if you do not, without doubt, greater mischief and calamity will follow."

When he had gone so far, certain persons of a hamlet near, who had been warned by the lieutenant to attend that morning at seven of the clock, coming after their hour, through the postern, and perceiving the prisoner to be mounted upon the scaffold, began to run and to call their fellows to come away: the suddenness of their coming

coming, the haste they made, the weapons they carried; but especially the words *come away*, moved many of the nearest to the scaffold, to surmise that a power was come to rescue the duke, whereupon many cried with a high voice, *away, away*. The cry of these, and the coming on of the others, cast amazement upon all, so much the more terrible, as no man knew what he feared, or wherefore, every man conceiving that which his astonished fancy did cast in his mind; some imagined, that it thundered; others, that it was an earthquake; others, that the powder in the armory had taken fire; others, that troops of horsemen approached; in which medley of conceits, they bore down one another, and jostled many into the Tower ditch; and long it was before the vain tumult could be appeased; and when it was, another succeeded. For Sir Anthony Brown came riding towards the scaffold, and they all hoped he had brought a pardon; upon which there was a general shouting, "Pardon, pardon; God save the king;" many throwing up their caps; by which the duke might well perceive how dear he was to the people. But, as soon as these disorders were over, he made a sign to them with his hand to compose themselves, and then went on in his speech thus:

"Dearly beloved friends, there is no such matter here in hand, as you vainly hope or believe. It seemeth thus good unto Almighty God, whose ordinance it is meet and necessary that we all be obedient to. Wherefore I pray you all to be quiet, and to be contented with my death, which I am most willing to suffer: and let us now join in prayer to the Lord, for the preservation of the king's majesty, unto whom, hitherto, I have always shewed myself a most faithful and firm subject. I have always been most diligent about his
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majesty, in his affairs both at home and abroad; and no less diligent in seeking the common commodity of the whole realm;" (upon this the people cried out, it was most true) "unto whose majesty I wish continual health, with all felicity, and all prosperous success. Moreover, I do wish unto all his counsellors, the grace and favour of God, whereby they may rule, in all things uprightly with justice; unto whom I exhort you all, in the Lord, to shew yourselves obedient, as it is your bounden duty, under the pain of condemnation; and also most profitable for the preservation and safeguard of the king's majesty. Moreover, for as much as heretofore I have had affairs with divers men, and hard it is to please every man; therefore, if there have been any that have been offended or injured by me, I most humbly require and ask him forgiveness; but more especially, I ask forgiveness of Almighty God, whom, throughout all my life, I have most grievously offended; and all other, whatsoever they be, that have offended me, I do, with my whole heart, forgive them."

Then he desired them to be quiet, lest their tumults might trouble him, and said, "Albeit the spirit be willing and ready, the flesh is frail and wavering; and, through your quietness, I shall be much more quiet. Moreover, I desire you all to bear me witness, that I die here in the faith of Jesus Christ, desiring you to help me with your prayers, that I may persevere constant in the same to my life's end."

Then Dr. Cox, who was with him on the scaffold, put a paper into his hand, which was a prayer he had prepared for him. He read it on his knees, then he took leave of all about him, and undressed himself to be fitted for the axe. In all which there appeared no change in him, only
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his face was a little ruddier than ordinary. He continued calling, "Lord Jesus save me," till the executioner severed his head from his body.

The duke of Somerset was possessed of great virtues, he was eminent for piety; humble, and affable in his greatness; sincere and candid in all his transactions. He was a better general, than a statesman; yet had been often successful in his undertakings; was always careful of the poor and the oppressed; and, in a word, had as many virtues, and as few faults, as most great men, who have been as unexpectedly advanced to the highest pinnacle of power.

The people were much affected at this execution; many dipped handkerchiefs in his blood to preserve it in remembrance of him; and it is certain, they never forgave the duke of Northumberland though they stifled their resentment at the time. Of this we shall be convinced in the subsequent pages.

**** Authorities.* Baker's chronicle. Sir John Hayward's life of Edward VI. Biog. Britan. Burnet's history of the reformation, &c.

The LIFE of
JOHN DUDLEY
 DUKE of NORTHUMBERLAND.

(A. D. 1502, to 1553.)

JOHAN DUDLEY, was the son of the infamous Edmund Dudley, Esq; an able, but corrupt lawyer, who was speaker of the house of commons in 1504, and a privy counsellor, at which period the avarice of Henry VII. was insatiable, and this venal lawyer, in conjunction with Sir Richard Empson, chief justice of the king's bench, instead of discountenancing the meanest of all passions that can be harboured in a royal breast, invented various illegal methods of extorting money from the people, to fill the king's coffers, themselves receiving poundage for the sums thus basely acquired. Upon the accession of Henry VIII. the people presented petitions, and cried aloud to the king, whenever he appeared in public, for justice against these public robbers, and their inferior agents, and the latter being apprehended and set in the pillory, were stoned to death by the enraged populace, nor would they rest satisfied till Empson and Dudley were indicted, convicted of high treason, and beheaded, in 1510. The detail of their cruelties, extortions and oppressions, the

the reader will find at large in Lord Bacon's history of Henry VII. edit. 1629.

Young Dudley was born in 1502, and in the ninth year of his age, it being represented to the king, that he was descended from an ancient and honourable family, who, his father excepted, had done honourable service to the state, he was restored in blood, but no statute is to be found for reversing the attainder of his father, as recorded by most historians, nor could he inherit his father's opulent fortune, his personal estate having been confiscated to the king's use, who never made any restitution of money, not even of the sums extorted by his father, and as to the real estates, they were bestowed on his favourites. But, about the year 1523, having received an education suitable to his rank, he was introduced to court by his mother, now married again, by the king's consent, to Henry Plantagenet, who in her right, (she being the daughter and heiress of John Grey, Viscount L'Isle) was created Viscount L'Isle.

Dudley's advantageous personal figure, and great accomplishments soon recommended him to the notice of his sovereign, who nominated him to attend the king's favourite, Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, in his expedition to France, where his gallant behaviour not only entitled him to the favour of his noble general, but procured him likewise the honour of knighthood. It is natural to imagine, that upon his return, he was very well received at court, having many relations, who had great influence there; but, it seems, he relied chiefly on his own abilities, and very wisely attached himself to the king's first minister, cardinal Wolsey, whom he accompanied in his expedition to France, in 1527; and soon after, he was made master of the armoury in the Tower. His hopes of preferment at court, however, did not hinder

him from attending to his concerns in the country, where he was very assiduous in improving his interest with the gentry, and, in 1536, was nominated sheriff of Staffordshire: where he lived hospitably, and made himself popular among his neighbours.

During Wolsey's administration Sir John Dudley assiduously paid his court to him; but as soon as he found Cromwell was gaining the ascendant, his political genius directed him to attach himself to the new favourite, by whom he was appointed master of the horse to the Princess Ann of Cleves, on her arrival in England. On the first of May, 1539, he was the first of challengers in the triumphant tournament held at Westminster, in which he appeared with great magnificence. This tournament had been proclaimed in France, Flanders, Scotland, and Spain, for all strangers to try their prowess against the English challengers, who were Sir John Dudley, Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir Thomas Poynings, Sir George Carew, knights; Anthony Kingston, and Richard Cromwell, esquires. These challengers came into the lists richly dressed, preceded by a band of knights and gentlemen, cloathed in white velvet. The first day, there were forty-six defendants, amongst whom were the earls of Surry, Lord William Howard, Lord Clinton, and Lord Cromwell, son to the prime minister, then earl of Essex. Sir John Dudley, by some mischance of his horse, had the misfortune to be overthrown by one Mr. Breme; however, he mounted again, and performed very gallantly. After this was over, the challengers rode in state to Durham-house, where they entertained the king, the new queen, and the court. On the second day, Anthony Kingston, and Richard Cromwell were made knights. On the third, the challengers fought on horseback with swords, against

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against twenty-nine defendants. Sir John Dudley and the earl of Surry running first with equal advantage. On the fifth of May they fought on foot at the barriers against thirty defendants. In the course of these military diversions, the challengers, at a vast expence, entertained both houses of parliament, the lord-mayor, aldermen and their wives, and all the persons of distinction then in town; as a reward for which, the king gave to each of them a house and an hundred marks a year for ever, out of the revenues of the knights of Rhodes, which had been given to his majesty by the parliament then sitting.

The fall of the earl of Essex, did not in the least affect the fortune of Sir John Dudley; who was so complete a courtier, that while he flattered the ministers, he took care to pay the highest deference to the will of his sovereign, and thus preserved his credit at court, amidst all the changes of men and measures.

In 1542, upon the death of his mother's second husband, he was created Viscount L'Isle; and at the next festival of St. George, he was also elected knight of the garter; but this was soon after followed by a much stronger token of esteem and confidence, for the king, considering his prudence, his courage, and his activity, as well as the occasion he had, and was like to have, for a man of such consequence in that office, constituted him lord high admiral of England, for life.

In 1543, he commanded a fleet of two hundred sail, with which he invaded Scotland, and in conjunction with the earl of Hertford, the commander in chief, took Edinburgh, being the first man who entered the gates. He next embarked for France, and on the 28th of July, of the same year, appeared before Boulogne, then besieged by king Henry VIII. in person, and, by his great diligence

and courage, facilitated very much the taking of the place, of which the king made him governor, with the title of his lieutenant-general.

Soon after the king had embarked for England, the dauphin advanced with an army of 30000 men, and attempted to recover Boulogne ty surprise, but the lord admiral, made a vigorous defence; and repulsed the French, who lost 800 of their best troops in this attack; but they did not raise the siege till the month of February 1544, when the lord admiral, with a small body of horse and foot, made a successful sally, took twelve pieces of cannon, and obliged the French forces, though greatly superior in number, to make a final precipitate retreat.

Francis I. being greatly exasperated at the loss of Boulogne, contracted with the Italian states, for a number of vessels, and having formed a fleet of two hundred sail, besides gallies, he gave instructions to Annebault, high admiral of France, not only to recover Boulogne, but to invade the English coasts. But lord L'Isle upon his first appearance before St. Helens, attacked him, with only sixty sail, and it is said, that the French had particular orders to take the admiral, on which account, no less than eighteen of their ships attacked the admiral's, who defended himself so well, that they were obliged to retire, and the whole fleet soon followed. In a short time after this, the English fleet being reinforced, and having taken some troops on board, a general engagement ensued, which lasted two hours, when night separating the two fleets, the French took shelter in Havre de Grace, and thus ended their expedition. But the English admiral made a descent on the coast of France, burnt the town and abbey of *Treport* in Normandy, with thirty sail of ships in the

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the harbour, and then returned to England, with the loss of only fourteen men.

A treaty of peace having been concluded with France in 1546, the lord admiral was appointed one of the commissioners, to take the oath of Francis I. for the due observance of the treaty, Tonsil Bishop of Durham, and Wotton Dean of Canterbury were joined with him, in this embassy; and in the same year, he was put into a commission, granted to several persons of the first rank, for settling the accounts of the army. This was the last public service he performed in the reign of Henry VIII. who, for his eminent services bestowed on him some considerable grants of churchlands, and at his death not only made him one of his sixteen executors, who were to be joint regents of the kingdom during the minority of Edward VI. but added to this honour, a legacy of five hundred pounds; a great sum in those days.

The reader will remember, by what means Somerset acquired the sole regency of the kingdom, and he will not be surprised at the enmity which lord L'Isle bore to the protector, when he is informed, that the important and most honourable office of high admiral was taken from him, (though in the language of courts, he is said to have resigned it) and given to Sir Thomas Seymour, the protector's brother; to compensate in some measure, for this impolitic and unjust step, lord L'Isle was created earl of Warwick, and made great chamberlain of England, on the same day, that Sir Thomas Seymour was constituted high admiral, being the 17th of February 1547, and not three weeks after the death of his late royal master, so precipitately did Somerset lay the foundation of his own ruin: for the discontent of the earl of Warwick was apparent at this time, and

in the further view of repairing the injury he had considerable grants from the crown, particularly Warwick castle and manor, but these emoluments could not bribe his boundless ambition.

Nor did he long wait for an opportunity, to convince the nation, that his military talents, as well as his political abilities were superior to those of the protector. In the life of Somerset, we have related the cause and issue of the expedition to Scotland, and it must here be confessed, that the earl of Warwick, if he had been first, instead of second in command, would have pushed the war to a glorious conclusion: as it was, his conduct was universally commended, and all the blame fell upon Somerset.

When the earl of Warwick returned to London from Scotland, he found the nobility, and persons of rank about the court, divided into two factions, occasioned by the quarrels between the protector and his brother, and with true Machiavelian policy, he widened the breach between them, at the same time, that he formed a third party, who were to assist him in accomplishing the ruin of both. With this view finding, that Sudley had rashly proceeded to overt acts of treason, he warmly urged the necessity of his being attainted in parliament, and after conviction, he continually pressed his brother to consent to his execution. No greater proof can be given of Somerset's deficiency in politics and the knowledge of mankind, than his taking the advice of so interested a party as Warwick, who had never lost sight of the office of high admiral, in which he was re-instated, not long after the execution of the admiral, when he had accomplished the protector's first disgrace.

The insurrections which happened throughout England, in the year 1549, on account of the inclosures

inclosures, have been already noticed in the life of the protector, and an account given of their suppression, except that of Norfolk, which was reserved for this place, because the earl of Warwick was ordered to march against the Norfolk rebels, and the event of this expedition not only added to his military reputation, but shews how high he stood in the esteem of the people at that time. The number of the rebels amounted to 16000 men, against whom the earl of Warwick was sent, after their reduction had been in vain attempted by the marquiss of Northampton, and lord Sheffield, (the latter of whom was slain by them,) to quell this formidable insurrection with 6000 foot, and 1500 horse.

It was not till after a general battle, that Warwick got possession of Norwich; their leader, Robert Ket a tanner, having taught the rebels some discipline, they drew up in excellent order, and fought with great bravery, and though they had upwards of 2000 killed in the action, they resolutely intrenched themselves, and prepared for a second; but the earl with great humanity, unwilling to shed their blood, sent a herald to offer them a pardon, if they would deliver up their leaders, but this they refused, telling the herald that they expected to die, but that they rather chose to fall in the field than to be deluded by deceitful promises to surrender, and then be put to death like dogs. Warwick upon receiving this answer prepared for the onset, but recollecting that they seemed to mistrust the herald; he sent to know if they would accept the pardon, in case he came to them in person, and assured them of it. To which they answered, "That he was a nobleman of such honour and generosity, that, if they might have this assurance from his own mouth, they were willing to submit." The earl accordingly

went in amongst them; upon which they threw down their arms; Ket was taken the next day, and was hanged some time after at Norwich castle, and nine of his principal followers were likewise hanged on the boughs of the Oak of Reformation, as they had stiled it.

Flushed with success, Warwick now began his association, with the confederate lords, who finding him an enterprising man, a great general, an expert politician, and in favour with the people; and knowing his secret hatred to the protector, resolved to make him their chief instrument in reducing the duke's power, but they did not conceive at this time, that Warwick meant to compass his death.

The intrigues of the earl of Warwick from this period, to the death of the duke of Somerset, have been so amply set forth in the memoirs of that unfortunate nobleman, that instead of vain repetitions, which in most authors have been continued through the lives of these two ministers, we shall introduce minutes of the most important national transactions at this time.

The peace with France, which had been rejected, when the protector proposed it, was concluded, in April 1550; on the following conditions. Boulogne was to be restored to France, but the French king Henry II. stipulated to pay the king of England, in consideration thereof, and of the tribute in arrear from France, the sum of 400,000 crowns; and it was agreed, that this treaty should not prejudice the claim of England, either to *France*, or *Scotland*.

Soon after this peace, the duke of Brunswick sent an ambassador to offer his service to the king of England, in his wars, with 10,000 men, and to solicit the princess Mary, the king's eldest sister, in marriage: answer was made, that the king's wars
were

were at an end, and as to the proposed marriage, that the king was in treaty with Portugal, on that subject, which coming to no effect, the duke should be favourably heard.

About the same time, the emperor seemed desirous of breaking with England, for his ambassador boldly demanded of the king, that the princess Mary should be allowed the free exercise of the mass, claiming in this case, the authority of an uncle; but that of her brother and sovereign being superior, Edward nobly refused to comply, and not only assisted the German protestants again with money, but because the emperor published some severe edicts against them, the English merchants were enjoined to trade, as little as possible, to Flanders.

A treaty of commerce was likewise concluded with Sweden, highly advantageous to England; for it brought bullion into the kingdom for our native commodities. A considerable coinage likewise took place at the Mint, but part of this coinage was debased.

About the beginning of the year 1551, intelligence was received, that the emperor intended to send a fleet to transport the princess Mary to Antwerp, and a rebellion in Essex seeming to favour this design, she was brought from that country, where she resided, to London, and endeavours were used by the king and the council to bring her over to the protestant religion, but in vain, and the emperor sent an angry message threatening war, if she was not allowed the free exercise of her religion; whereupon the council determined to send Dr. Wotton Dean of Canterbury to his Imperial Majesty, who brought the matter to a speedy conclusion, by declaring the same favour that the king's subjects had for their religion, (being protestants) in the emperor's dominions,

dominions, the same should the emperor's subjects, (being Roman catholics) enjoy in England, but as for the king's own subjects, of whom Mary was one, he had no right to interfere, or to direct the king his master in the management of the affairs of his own realm: this spirited conduct put an end to the emperor's threats.

And it must be confessed by the earl of Warwick's enemies, that the vigour which now animated the king's councils with respect to foreign affairs, was chiefly owing to his having the lead in administration. The king therefore finding he possessed the qualifications of an able statesman, and seeing him, to all appearance, reconciled to his uncle, appointed him, in April, lord steward of his household, and Earl Marshal of England; a short time after, he was made Lord Warden of the northern marches, and, in October, he was created Duke of Northumberland.

By this time, he had made alliances with some of the best families in England, and advanced his children and friends at court: in particular, Sir Robert Dudley, one of his younger sons, (afterwards Earl of Leicester) a man "who for lust and cruelty," says Hayward, "was the monster of the court, was made one of the six ordinary gentlemen of the king's chamber, in August, and after his coming into place so near him, all authors agree, the king enjoyed his health but a little while."

That the duke of Somerset was not qualified to be prime minister, is generally allowed, but the excluding him from every responsible office was the utmost punishment for his past errors, aimed at by the other counsellors; however, the duke of Northumberland had an ambitious project in agitation, which made him dread the integrity, and remaining influence of his sovereign's uncle.

But

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But after his death, having gained an entire ascendancy over the king, (more latterly, through fear of his power, than inclination) his dangerous plot began to grow ripe for execution; and it was hastened by the following circumstance.

The pious, amiable young monarch, notwithstanding every art was made use of to divert him, grew melancholy and pensive. He was often found in tears, and upon the slightest mention of his late uncle, which could not be avoided in referring to past acts of the council, he would sigh, says Hayward, and lament his own unfortunate situation, in these pathetic terms. "How unfortunate have I been to those of my blood? my mother I slew at my birth, and since have made away two of her brothers, and haply to serve the purposes of others against myself. The protector had done nothing that deserved death, or if he had, it was very little, and proceeded rather from his wife than himself! where then was the good nature of a nephew? where the elemency of a prince? alas! how have I been abused? how little was I master of my own judgement, that both his death, and the blame thereof, must be charged upon me."

Some writers have asserted, that the decline of Edward's health, which commenced about this time, was owing to natural causes, and that neither Northumberland, nor his agents, had any hand in hastening his death; and they assign it, as a reason, that the duke had no cause to suspect the decline of his power, while the king lived; but if we consider that this nobleman had advanced himself by political fraud and cruelty; it seems highly probable that he hourly dreaded his fall, as the king's judgement ripened with his years, and knew, that no other means could prevent the final discovery of his vile intrigues, founded on his ambition.

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The king therefore, discovering inward remorse for the violent measures into which he had been precipitated through youthful inexperience; Northumberland, who had now the sole direction of public affairs both foreign and domestic, and whose family and friends were placed about the throne; as a preliminary step to his grand plan for securing permanent power to himself, by raising his family to the throne, hastily concluded a marriage between the lady Jane Grey, eldest daughter to the duke of Suffolk, and his fourth son, lord Guilford Dudley; which was celebrated in the month of May, 1553; and it deserves notice, that the king's illness had increased, with dangerous symptoms, from the month of January.

In the parliament held a little before the king's death, the duke had procured a considerable supply to be granted; and, in the preamble of that act, a direct censure to be inserted of the duke of Somerset's administration: having thus answered his purposes by this measure, he dissolved that parliament. He then artfully stated to the king, the necessity of setting aside the princess Mary, from the danger the protestant religion would be in, if she should succeed him: this representation made a deep impression upon the pious young monarch, who readily conceived the fatal consequences to the nation, which would ensue from the restoration of popery, and therefore freely consented to the exclusion of Mary; but as the princess Elizabeth was a protestant, and the king bore a tender affection to her; it has perplexed Burnet, and other historians, to understand how Northumberland could prevail upon him to set her aside. The difficulty however is easily resolved, if we attend to the reasons of law and state, brought by the crown lawyers, and the politicians, in Northumberland's

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thumberland's interest, in support of the expediency of excluding both the princesses.

The chief justice Mountague maintained, that the act of 35 Henry VIII. settling the crown upon Mary and Elizabeth, after the demise of Edward without issue, was rendered null and void, by the act of the 38th of the same king, by which the marriages of both their mothers were dissolved, their divorces confirmed, and their issue declared illegitimate, so that neither the letters patent, nor the subsequent will of the said King, could confer any right of succession to the crown, on illegitimate persons, who were totally disabled from succeeding Edward or any person; the act of the 35th limiting the succession to legitimate issue.

Cecil gave it as a reason of state, that though Elizabeth was a protestant, she might marry a foreign prince, who might introduce popery, and these arguments most assuredly prevailed with the king, for they are mentioned in the letters patent, for settling the crown on lady Jane Grey. The same danger of popery, occasioned the exclusion of the issue of Margaret queen dowager of Scotland, eldest sister of Henry VIII. As to the duchess of Suffolk, the next person mentioned in Henry's will, she readily entered into Northumberland's views, and yielded her right in favour of her daughter, and an instrument being accordingly prepared, though not without great opposition from some of the judges, and being signed by the king, on the 21st of June, when he was in great debility both of mind and body, it passed the great seal the next day, and was subscribed, by all the privy council, the bishops, the major part of the nobility both with respect to numbers and consequence; and by the judges, except Sir James Holles, one of the judges of the common pleas, who constantly declared it to be treason.

Northum-

Northumberland, having thus accomplished his design, nothing remained, but that the king should not long survive, lest the recovery of his own penetrating judgement with his health, and the application of sounder advice, should overthrow his cunning devices: therefore, soon after the instrument had been subscribed by the council; by Northumberland's advice, an order of council issued, for dismissing his physicians, and for putting him into the hands of an ignorant woman, who undertook to restore him, in a short time, to his former health. Instead of which, after the use of her medicines, all the bad symptoms increased, to the most violent degree: he felt a difficulty of speech, and of breathing; his pulse failed; his legs swelled, his colour became livid, and at length he expired, on the 6th of July 1553, in the 16th year of his age, and 7th of his reign; leaving no doubt, from the gross ignorance and meanness of the woman employed, that she was the instrument of his destruction.

The piety of this prince, was as exemplary, as his charity was beneficial to the kingdom, which will never be forgotten, while we behold the hospitals of St. Bartholomew, St. Thomas, and Bridewell, founded and munificently endowed by him; his learning, his modest, yet graceful and stately deportment, and lastly his fine person, made him the subject of universal admiration.

The duke of Northumberland endeavoured to conceal Edward's death for some time, with a view of drawing the princess Mary to court, and such hopes were given of his recovery, that the people made general rejoicings upon the occasion, and it was on pretext of comforting the king in his illness, that the duke wrote to Mary to visit him; but it is highly probable she had a secret party in the council, and that though they had subscribed

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to the lady Jane's succession, either through fear, or from bribery, they now sent her private intelligence of the king's death, for when she was within half a day's journey of London, she turned back in haste to her house at *Hovedon*; and the duke then carried his daughter-in-law from Durham-house to the Tower, where the royal apartments had been prepared for her, and a canopy of state put up. On the 10th, she was proclaimed in the usual manner. The council also wrote to queen Mary, requiring her submission; but they were soon informed, that she was retired into Norfolk, where many of the nobility, and multitudes of people, resorted to her. It was then resolved to send forces against her under the command of the duke of Suffolk; but lady Jane, would by no means part with her father; and the council earnestly pressed the duke of Northumberland to go in person; to which he was little inclined, as doubting their fidelity. He signified as much in the speech he made at taking his leave, and was answered with the strongest assurances that men could give.

On the 14th of July, the duke, accompanied by the marquis of Northampton, the lord Grey, and others, marched through Bishopsgate with two thousand horse, and six thousand foot; but, as they rode through Shoreditch, he could not forbear saying to the lord Grey, "The people press to see us, but none say, God speed us." His activity and courage, for which he had been so famous, seemed, from this time, to have deserted him; for, though he advanced to St. Edmund's-bury, in Suffolk, yet, finding his troops diminish, the people little affected to him, and no supplies coming from London, though he had wrote to the lords in the most pressing terms, he retired back again to Cambridge.

In

In the mean time, the council thought of nothing but to get out of the Tower, and at last effected it, under pretence of going to the earl of Pembroke's house at Baynard's castle, to give audience to the foreign ambassadors. This was on the 19th of the same month; and the first thing they did when they came there, was, to send for the lord-mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, whom they accompanied to Cheap-side, and there gartering at-arms proclaimed queen Mary. The earl of Arundel, and lord Paget, went the same night to pay their duty to her.

The duke of Northumberland had advice of this on the 20th, and, about five in the afternoon, the same day, caused her to be proclaimed at Cambridge, throwing up his cap, and crying, "God save queen Mary!" Northumberland's affected loyalty however, was of no service to him; for he was arrested by the queen's command, and on the 18th of August, brought to his trial, in Westminster-hall, where being found guilty of high treason by his peers, he received sentence of death. The duke's behaviour under his unhappy circumstances was, to the last degree mean and abject, from the time of his attachment: this intrepid hero in the field, who had faced every danger by sea and land; this aspiring statesman, who boldly ventured to compass his ends, by the most perilous measures, who knew that treason was at the bottom of all his designs, when he met with that fate which his knowledge of history, and even his own conduct to Somerset and his friends, must have taught him to expect, dreaded the approach of death; and, upon his knees, besought the earl of Arundel, by whom he was arrested, to intercede with the queen for his life; a greater proof cannot be given, that conscious guilt makes cowards and fools of the bravest and the wisest

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wisest men, for Arundel was the very man who first deserted his cause at the council board, notwithstanding at the duke's departure, he was the most vehement in his protestations of attachment to him. And after sentence, he as foolishly solicited Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, his sworn foe, to use his interest to save his life: asking him if there were no hopes, and declaring that he would be content to do penance and to live in a mouse-hole, if he could but live a little longer; and Gardiner tauntingly told him, he wished to God, his grace could have been content with any thing less than a kingdom, when he was at liberty and in prosperity; to which he added, a serious admonition for him to make his peace with God, and prepare for death.

It has been observed, at the close of the life of Somerset, that the people never forgave the duke of Northumberland, and it is highly probable this was the chief cause of the cold reception he met with from the citizens of London, when he proclaimed Lady Jane; and when he marched through the city with an army to support her title. For, when he was conducted to the Tower after his condemnation, many reproached him as he passed, and a lady exposing an handkerchief which had been dipped in the blood of the duke of Somerset, held it near him, and cried out; "Behold the blood of that worthy man, that good uncle, of our late excellent king, which was shed by thy malicious practice, doth now revenge itself on thee."

The twenty-first of August, 1553, was the day fixed for his execution; when a vast concourse of people assembled upon Tower-hill, all the usual preparations being made, and the executioner ready: but, after waiting some hours, the people were ordered to depart. This delay was to afford
time

time for his making an open shew of the change of his religion, since that very day, in the presence of the mayor and aldermen, as well as some of the privy-council, he heard mass in the Tower. The next day, he was actually brought out to suffer death, on the same scaffold on Tower-hill; where he made a very long speech to the people; of which there remains nothing but what relates to his religion; which he not only professed to be then that of the church of Rome, but that it had been always so; taking upon himself the odious character of a hypocrite in the sight of God, as well as a dissembler with men; and it is strongly suspected, that he acted this disgraceful part, in the hopes of saving his life, for it is affirmed, that he had a promise of pardon, even if his head was upon the block, if he would recant and hear mass, and this deception was afterwards practised by Mary, to procure recantations from unhappy protestants, whom she afterwards constantly put to death, in violation of the promises made in her name, and by her express order.

Having finished his speech to the people, and his private devotions, the executioner, asked him forgiveness, to whom he said, "I forgive thee with all my heart, do thy part without fear." And bowing towards the block, he said, "I have deserved a thousand deaths." Then laying his head on the block, it was instantly severed from his body: he was buried in the Tower, in St. Peter's church near the body of the duke of Somerset.

Thus deservedly fell John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, whose virtues were few, but such as accomplish the statesman and hero, and if they had not been sullied by the foulest crimes, he might have proved one of the ablest ministers England had ever seen: for he thoroughly understood the

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the political and commercial interests of his country; and it must not be forgot, that he greatly promoted the latter. During his short administration, two instances are on record, which considered in a national light, are an expiatory equivalent for all his faults.

The first was, the dissolution of the corporation of the merchants of the *Steel-yard* in London, consisting of foreigners, chiefly Germans, subjects of the Hans-towns, who engrossed the management of all the foreign commerce of England, all imports and exports being made in the ships of this corporation, by which the English merchant-adventurers suffered great losses, and were exposed to frauds of all kinds from the officers and other agents of this society. The complaints of the English being brought before the privy council, by the advice, and under the patronage of the duke of Northumberland, after they had failed of redress in the courts of law, owing to the privileges granted by former kings to the corporation; the duke proposed the dissolution of the society, which was carried, and it was accordingly dissolved, the latter end of the year 1552, and from this time, our foreign trade was encouraged in English bottoms.

The second was, the establishment of a Mart at *Southampton*, for our woollen manufactures, which before were transported to *Bruges* and *Antwerp*, at a great expence, for besides the freight in foreign bottoms, the English were obliged to have agents and factors settled in Flanders, to transact this business. But the new regulation of opening a Mart in England which took place in 1553, produced a most advantageous alteration in this valuable branch of our commerce, and was no less favourable to the kingdom in general, as it brought numbers of foreigners to visit this country, some of whom settled in it, and contributed to the progress,

gress, which England made, in arts, manufactures and commerce, in the age of Elizabeth the great.

*** *Authorities.* Stow's chronicle. Speed's history of England. Lloyd's state worthies. Sir John Hayward's life of Edward VI. Fox's acts and monuments, &c. Burnet's history of the reformation

The LIFE of

HUGH LATIMER

BISHOP OF WORCESTER.

(With Memoirs of RIDLEY, Bishop of LONDON.)

[A. D. 1475, to 1555.]

HUGH LATIMER was born at Thirkellon or Thurcaston, in Leicestershire, about the year 1475. His father was a reputable yeoman, who had no land of his own, but rented a small farm, on which, in those frugal times, he maintained a large family: six daughters, and a son.

But the best account of this family, is given in one of his Lent sermons, preached before Edward VI. wherein, after exclaiming against the inclosures of common lands, and other oppressions, practised at that time, by the nobility and gentry, he

he takes notice of the moderation of the landlords a few years before, and of the ease and plenty enjoyed by the tenants, as a proof of which, he adds, "That upon a farm of four pounds a year at the utmost, his father tilled as much ground as kept half a dozen men; that he had it stocked with an hundred sheep, and thirty cows; that he found the king a man and horse, himself remembering to have buckled on his father's harness, when he went to Blackheath; that he gave his daughters five pounds a-piece at marriage; that he lived hospitably among his neighbours, and was not backward in his alms to the poor."

The juvenile part of Latimer's life affords nothing worthy our notice, we shall therefore introduce him to our readers, at the time when he first appeared upon the theatre of the world, and began to act a conspicuous part. This happened about the year 1500, when having taken the degree of Master of Arts, at Christ's college in Cambridge, and entered into Priest's orders, his zeal for the doctrines of the Romish church manifested itself by violent declamations against the German reformers, whose opinions began to be propagated in England, and to gain ground. If any professor, suspected of favouring their tenets, read lectures, he attended, and the university in recompence for his zeal, having given him the office of cross bearer, he exercised some authority over the scholars, driving them from the schools of these lecturers.

But fortunately for the church of England, of which he afterwards became an illustrious prelate, Mr. Latimer was introduced to Mr. Thomas Bilney; a man so opposite in his principles, that it is absurd, in all our biographers, to assert, that he and Latimer were well acquainted; while Latimer was openly decrying, and studiously avoid-
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ing all persons suspected to favour the new doctrines. It is most probable, that Bilney having entertained favourable sentiments of Latimer from his moral character, in which alone there was at that time any similarity between them, conceived an opinion, that by communicating to him the observations he had long made on the scandalous lives of the monks and the Romish clergy, and comparing them with the exemplary conduct of the reformers, he might induce Latimer to think more favourably of their writings and opinions. Thus prepossessed with the idea of converting him, it is to be presumed some common friend, an epistolary correspondence, or some other unknown incident brought them together, after Latimer's zeal for the Romish doctrine had made him the subject of general conversation in the university. Their friendly conferences once commenced, Mr. Bilney took proper opportunities, to hint that some of the tenets of the Romish church were not consonant to primitive christianity; thus by degrees he raised doubts, and a spirit of enquiry in Latimer's mind, who had always acted, though erroneously, upon honest principles, and in the end, he was fully convinced of the errors of the Romish church, which he abandoned, and from this time, he became every active in supporting and propagating the reformed opinions. He endeavoured with great assiduity to make converts, both in town, and in the university; preaching in public, exhorting in private, and every where pressing the necessity of a holy life, in opposition to the superstitious ceremonies, and external acts of devotion, which prevailed in the Romish religion.

The first remarkable opposition he met with from the popish party, was occasioned by a course of sermons he preached during the festival of Christmas, before the university, in which he spoke
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his sentiments concerning the impiety of indulgences, the uncertainty of tradition, and the vanity of works of supererogation: he inveighed against the multiplicity of ceremonies with which religion was then incumbered, and the pride and usurpation of the Romish hierarchy: but chiefly he dwelt upon the great abuse of locking up the scriptures in an unknown tongue; giving his reasons without any reserve, why they ought to be put in every one's hands.

Great was the outcry occasioned by these discourses. Mr. Latimer was then a preacher of some eminence, and began to display a remarkable address in adapting himself to the capacities of the people. The orthodox clergy observing him thus followed, thought it high time to oppose him openly. This task was undertaken by Dr. Buckenham, prior of the Black Friars, who appeared in the pulpit a few Sundays after, and with great pomp and prolixity, endeavoured to shew the dangerous tendency of Mr. Latimer's opinions: particularly he inveighed against his heretical notions of having the scriptures published in English, laying open the ill effects of such an innovation. "If that heresy, said he, were to prevail, we should soon see an end of every thing useful among us. The ploughman reading, that if he put his hand to the plough, and should happen to look back, he was unfit for the kingdom of God, would soon lay aside his labour: the baker likewise reading, that a little leaven will corrupt his lump, would give us very insipid bread: the simple man likewise finding himself commanded to pluck out his eyes, in a few years we should have the nation full of blind beggars."

Mr. Latimer could not help listening with secret pleasure to this ingenious reasoning. Perhaps, he had acted as prudently, if he had considered the

prior's arguments as unanswerable; but he could not resist the vivacity of his temper, which strongly inclined him to expose this solemn trifle. The whole university met together on the Sunday, when it was known Mr. Latimer would preach. A vein of pleasantry and humour, ran through all his words and actions which, it was imagined, would here have full scope: and, the preacher was not a little conscious of his own superiority. To complete the scene, just before the sermon began, Buckenham himself entered the church, with his friar's cowl about his shoulders, and seated himself, with an air of importance, before the pulpit.

Mr. Latimer, with great gravity, recapitulated the learned doctor's arguments, placed them in the strongest light, and then rallied them with such a flow of wit, and at the same time with so much good humour, that, without the appearance of ill-nature, he made his adversary in the highest degree ridiculous. He then, with great address, appealed to the people, descanted upon the low esteem in which their holy guides had always held their understandings; expressed the utmost offence at their being treated with such contempt, and wished his honest countrymen might only have the use of the scriptures till they shewed themselves such absurd interpreters. He concluded his discourse with a few observations upon scripture metaphors. A figurative manner of speech, he said, was common in all languages: representations of this kind were in daily use, and generally understood. "Thus, for instance, said he, (addressing himself to that part of the audience where the prior was seated) when we see a fox painted, preaching in a friar's hood, nobody imagines that a fox is meant, but that craft and hypocrisy are described, which are so often found disguised in that garb."

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But it is probable, Mr. Latimer thought this levity unbecoming; for when one Venetus, a foreigner, not long after, attacked him again upon the same subject, and in a manner the most scurrilous and provoking, we find him using a graver strain. He answers, like a scholar, what is worth answering; and, like a man of sense, leaves the absurd part to confute itself. But whether jocular or serious, his harangues were so animated, that they seldom failed of their intended effect: his raillery shut up the prior within his monastery, and his solid arguments drove Venetus from the university.

The protestant cause soon acquired great credit at Cambridge by the joint labours of Bilney and Latimer, whose lives strictly corresponded with the purity of the doctrines they taught; and no academical censures being found sufficient to deter the students from following these eminent reformers:

Dr. West the diocesan was applied to, to silence Latimer, which he did, after he had heard him preach; and had expressed his approbation of his discourse; by prohibiting him from preaching in any of the churches within his diocese. But this gave no great check to the reformers; for there happened at that time to be a prior in Cambridge, Dr. Barnes, of the Austin Friars, who favoured the principles of the reformation. His monastery was exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, and being a great admirer of Mr. Latimer, he boldly licenced him to preach there. Hither his party followed him; and the late opposition having greatly excited the curiosity of the people, the friars chapel was soon unable to contain the crowds that attended.

The success which Mr. Latimer had thus gained by preaching, he maintained by sanctity of man-

ners. Mr. Bilney and he did not satisfy themselves with acting unexceptionably, but were daily giving instances of true piety and benevolence, which malice could not scandalize, nor envy misinterpret. They were always together concerting measures for the advancement of true religion; and the place where they used to walk, was long afterwards known by the name of the Heretics hill. Cambridge at the time was full of their good actions: their charities to the poor, and friendly visits to the sick and unhappy, were common topics of conversation.

At length heavy complaints were sent to the ministry at London, of the surprising increase of heresy, and Latimer was accused as the principal propagator of the new opinions, and cardinal Wolsey, being importuned by Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops at court, sent for Latimer to appear before him at Yorkhouse, but after some private conversation, he dismissed him courteously, and granted him a special licence, to preach in all parts of England.

Mr. Latimer then returned to Cambridge, but soon after he extended his pious designs of reformation, by preaching in different parts of the kingdom, and he, once or twice, had the honour to preach before Henry VIII. at Windsor, upon which occasions, the king had taken particular notice of him. This encouraged him to write a very bold letter to his majesty, when the royal proclamation was issued, forbidding the use of the bible in English, and other books on religious subjects. From the time that the reformation was first encouraged in England by private persons, the promoters of it, had continually dispersed among the people, a variety of polemical tracts, and others, exposing the corrupt lives of the clergy, and the monks. These books were printed abroad;

abroad; and after the reformers took the name of PROTESTANTS, (which they did at the diet held at *Spires* in 1529, from the PROTEST they then and there made against the errors of Popery) they sent them over in great quantities to their brethren in England; and amongst other works, a translation of the new testament: against these the proclamation was levelled. It impowered the bishops to imprison at pleasure, all persons suspected of having heretical books, till the party had purged himself, or abjured; it likewise authorised the bishop to set an arbitrary fine upon all persons convicted, and it prohibited all appeals from the ecclesiastical courts, and ordered the civil officers on their allegiance, to aid the bishops in the extirpation of heresy. As the cruel bigotry of the clergy rendered this proclamation extremely fatal, some persons having been burnt for reading the bible, and others for teaching their children the lord's prayer, and the ten commandments, Latimer with pious fortitude remonstrated against it in his letter to the king, the scope of which is to point out the evil intentions of the bishops in obtaining the proclamation, to guard the king against the malevolence of those, who insinuated that the reformers were a set of seditious men, who would disturb the peace of the kingdom; and to convince him, that the free use of the scriptures would make the people better, instead of worse subjects, as it had been falsely represented to his majesty; and after vouching for the good characters of the unfortunate persons then in custody, he makes the following nervous, pathetic conclusion:

“Accept, gracious sovereign, without displeasure, what I have written. I thought it my duty to mention these things to your majesty. No personal quarrel, as God shall judge me, have I with

any man : I wanted only to induce your majesty to consider well what kind of persons you have about you, and the ends for which they counsel : indeed, great prince, many of them, or they are much slandered, have very private ends. God grant your majesty may see through all the designs of evil men ; and be, in all things, equal to the high office with which you are entrusted ! But, gracious king, remember yourself ; have pity upon your own soul ; and think that the day is at hand, when you shall give account of your office, and of the blood that hath been shed by your sword. In the which day, that your grace may stand stedfastly, and not be ashamed, but be clear and ready in your reckoning, and have your pardon sealed with the blood of our Saviour Christ, which only serveth at that day, is my daily prayer to him who suffered death for our sins. The spirit of God preserve you !”

With such freedom did this worthy man address his sovereign ; but the influence of the popish party was then so great, that his letter produced no effect.

But Henry, who, notwithstanding his vices, had an open, free disposition, and was a great lover of sincerity in others, thanked him for his well meant advice, and Mr. Latimer's plain, familiar style, made such an impression upon him, that from this time, it appears the king entertained thoughts of taking him into his service.

Favourable opportunities soon offered for recommending Mr. Latimer to the good graces of the king, for in the grand points of the divorce, and of the supremacy, he exerted himself strenuously at Cambridge, in favour of the king's designs ; especially in the affair of the supremacy, joining with Dr. Butts, the king's physician, in obtaining the opinions of several divines and canonists in Cambridge, in support

support of that measure; these divines were in the protestant interest, and probably Butts would not have succeeded in his commission which was to gain them over, if Latimer had not assisted them: in return for this favour, Dr. Butts took Mr. Latimer with him to court in 1535, and Cromwell, who was rising into power, and favouring the reformation, having already conceived a very high opinion of him, very soon procured him a benefice.

This living was in Wiltshire, whither Mr. Latimer resolved, as soon as possible, to repair, and keep a constant residence. His friend Dr. Butts, surprised at his resolution, did what he could to persuade him from it. He was deserting, he told him, the fairest appearances of making his fortune. But Mr. Latimer was not a man, on whom such arguments had any weight. He left the court, therefore, and entered immediately upon the duties of his parish; hoping to be of some use in the world, by faithfully exerting, in a private station, such abilities as God had given him. His behaviour was suitable to his resolutions. He thoroughly considered the duties of a clergyman; and discharged them in the most conscientious manner. Nor was he satisfied with discharging them in his own parish, but extended his labours throughout the county, where he observed the pastoral care most neglected; having, for this purpose, obtained a general licence from the university of Cambridge.

His preaching, which was in a strain wholly different from the preaching of the times, soon made him acceptable to the people; among whom, in a little time, he established himself in great credit. He was treated likewise very civilly by the neighbouring gentry; and at Bristol, where he often preached, he was countenanced by the

magistrates. The reputation he was thus daily gaining, presently alarmed the orthodox clergy in those parts; and their opposition to him appeared first on this occasion:

The mayor of Bristol had appointed him to preach there on Easter-sunday. Public notice had been given, and all people were pleased; when suddenly there came out an order from the bishop of Bristol, prohibiting any one to preach there without his licence. The clergy of the place waited upon Mr. Latimer, informed him of the bishop's order, and, knowing that he had no such licence, "were extremely sorry, that they were, by that means, deprived of the pleasure of hearing an excellent discourse from him." Mr. Latimer received their civility with a smile; for he had been apprised of the affair, and well knew, that these were the very persons who had written to the bishop against him.

Their opposition to him became afterwards more public. Some of them ascended the pulpit in their zeal, and inveighed against him with great indecency of language. Of these the most forward was one Hubberdin, an empty, impudent fellow, who could say nothing of his own, but any thing that was put into his mouth. Through this instrument, and others of the same kind, such liberties were taken with Mr. Latimer's character, that he thought it proper, at length, to justify himself; and, accordingly, called upon his calumniators to accuse him publicly before the mayor at Bristol. And, with all men of candour he was justified; for, when that magistrate convened both parties, and put the accusers upon producing legal proof of what they had said, nothing reproachable appeared against him, but the whole accusation was left to rest upon the uncertain evidence of some hear-say information,

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His enemies, however, were not thus silenced. The party against him became daily stronger and more inflamed. It consisted, in general, of the country priests of those parts, headed by some divines of more eminence. These persons, after mature deliberation, drew up articles against him, extracted chiefly from his sermons; in which he was charged with speaking lightly of the worship of saints; with saying, that there was no material fire in hell; and, that he had rather be in purgatory, than in Lollard's tower. These articles, in the form of an accusation, were laid before Stokesley, bishop of London. This prelate immediately cited Mr. Latimer to appear before him. But Mr. Latimer, instead of obeying the citation, appealed to his own ordinary; - thinking himself wholly exempt from the jurisdiction of any other bishop. Stokesley, upon this, making a private cause of it, was determined at any rate to get him in his power. He applied therefore to archbishop Warham, who was prevailed upon to issue a citation from his own court, which Mr. Latimer obeyed. His friends persuaded him to leave the country; but their intreaties were in vain; and he set out for London, though it was in the depth of winter, and he was at this time labouring under a severe fit both of the stone and cholic. But his bodily complaints did not give him so much pain as the thoughts of leaving his parish exposed, where the popish clergy would not fail to undo, in his absence, what he had hitherto done. When he arrived in London, he found a court of bishops and canonists assembled to receive him; where, instead of being examined, as he expected, about his sermons, a paper was put into his hands, which he was ordered to subscribe; it declared his belief in the doctrine of purgatory; the efficacy of masses for the souls therein; of prayers to the saints, of

pilgrimages to their sepulchres and relics; of the perpetual obligation of vows of celibacy, unless dispensed with by the pope; of the papal power to forgive sins; of the worship of images; of the seven sacraments, and other absurd usages of the Romish church.

Mr. Latimer having read over the contents, returned the paper, refusing to sign it. The archbishop, with a frown, desired he would consider what he did. "We intend not," says he, "Mr. Latimer, to be hard upon you; we dismiss you, for the present: take a copy of the articles; examine them carefully; and God grant, that, at our next meeting, we may find each other in better temper."

At the next meeting, and at several succeeding ones, the same scene was acted over again: both sides continued inflexible. The bishops, however, being determined, if possible, to make him comply, began to treat him with more severity. Of one of these examinations he gives us the following account.

"I was brought out," says he, "to be examined in a chamber, where I was wont to be examined; but at this time it was somewhat altered. For, whereas before there was a fire in the chimney, now the fire was taken away, and an arras hanged over the chimney; and the table stood near the chimney's end. There was, among these bishops that examined me, one with whom I have been very familiar, and whom I took for my great friend, an aged man, and he sat next the table-end. Then, among other questions he put forth one, a very subtle and crafty one; and, when I should make answer, 'I pray you, Mr. Latimer,' said he, 'speak out; I am very thick of hearing, and here be many that sit far off.' I marvelled at this, that I was bidden to speak out, and began

to misdeem, and gave an ear to the chimney; and there I heard a pen plainly scratching behind the cloth. They had appointed one there to write all my answers, that I should not start from them. God was my good Lord, and gave me answers; I could never else have escaped them."

Thus the bishops continued to distress Mr. Latimer; examining him three times every week, with a view either to draw something from him by captious questions, or to teaze him at length into a compliance: and indeed, at length, he was tired out. Accordingly, when he was next summoned, instead of going himself, he sent a letter to the archbishop; in which, with great freedom, he tells him, That the treatment he had of late met with, had fretted him into such a disorder, as rendered him unfit to attend them that day: that, in the mean time, he could not help taking this opportunity to expostulate with his grace, for detaining him so long from the discharge of his duty: that it seemed to him most unaccountable, that they, who never preached themselves, should hinder others: that, as for their examination of him, he really could not imagine what they aimed at; they pretended one thing in the beginning, and another in the progress: that, if his sermons were what gave offence, which, he persuaded himself, were neither contrary to the truth, nor to any canon of the church, he was ready to answer whatever might be thought exceptionable in them: that he wished a little more regard might be had to the judgment of the people; and, that a distinction might be made between the ordinances of God and man: that, if some abuses in religion did prevail, (as was then commonly supposed) he thought preaching was the best means to discountenance them: that he wished all pastors might be obliged to perform their duty; but that, however,

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liberty might be given to those who were willing: that, as for the articles proposed to him, he begged to be excused from subscribing them; while he lived he never would abet superstition: and, that, lastly, he hoped the archbishop would excuse what he had written; he knew his duty to his superiors, and would practise it; but, in that case, he thought a stronger obligation laid upon him.

Mr. Latimer had indeed a very narrow escape, owing entirely to his friends about the king, for this very ecclesiastical court had proceeded nearly in the same manner with his worthy friend Mr. Bilney, who after a similar examination, had been persuaded by Tonstal, bishop of Durham to recant, and bear a faggot upon his shoulder, in token of submission. This happened in 1528, and Bilney afterwards feeling great remorse of conscience for his recantation, at first went raving, and afterwards melancholy mad, after which he went about preaching the reformation, and confessing the guilt of his abjuration, till at length in the year 1531, he was apprehended by the bishop of Norwich, and was burnt the same year, in pursuance of a writ from the ecclesiastical court at London, for his execution, as a relapsed heretic.

What particular effect this letter produced, we are not informed; but the king, apprized of the ill usage Mr. Latimer met with, most probably by the lord Cromwell's means, interposed in his behalf, and rescued him out of the hands of his enemies.

The steady attachment Mr. Latimer had shewn to the cause of the reformation: the assistance he had given in forwarding the divorce; and the great services he might perform in a more conspicuous station, were strong inducements to engage the queen, Ann Boleyn, and the lord Cromwell,

now

now prime minister, to solicit his promotion, they therefore jointly recommended him to the king for one of the bishoprics, Worcester or Salisbury, both vacant at this time, by the deprivation of Ghinuccii, and Campegio, two Italian bishops, who fell under the king's displeasure upon his rupture with Rome.

The king thus powerfully solicited, and being himself much disposed to favour Mr. Latimer, offered him the see of Worcester, which he thankfully accepted in 1535, and was thus screened for the present from the malice of his enemies.

All the historians of these times, mention him as a person remarkably zealous in the discharge of his new functions. In reforming the clergy of his diocese, which he thought the chief branch of the episcopal office, he was uncommonly active and resolute. With the same spirit, he presided over his ecclesiastical court; and he was frequent and observant in his visitations; in ordaining, strict and wary; in preaching, indefatigable; in reproving and exhorting, severe and persuasive.

Thus far he could act with authority; but in other things, he found himself under difficulties. The ceremonies of the popish worship gave him great offence; and he neither durst, in times so dangerous and unsettled, lay them entirely aside; nor, on the other hand, was he willing to retain them. In this dilemma his address was admirable. He enquired into their origin; and, when he found any of them derived from a good meaning, he took care to inculcate that original meaning, in the room of a corrupt interpretation. Thus he put the people in mind, when bread and water were distributed, that these elements, which had long been thought endowed with a kind of magical influence, were nothing more than appendages

to the two sacraments of the Lord's supper, and baptism: the former, he said, reminded us of Christ's death; and the latter was only a simple representation of our being purified from sin.

While his endeavours to reform were thus confined within his own diocese, he was called upon to exert them in a more public manner; having received a summons to attend the parliament and convocation. This meeting was opened, in the usual form, by a Latin sermon, or rather an oration, spoken by bishop Latimer, whose eloquence was, at this time, every where famous. But, as he did not distinguish himself in the debates of this convocation, which ran very high between the protestant and popish parties; we shall only add, that an animated attempt was at this time made to get him and Cranmer stigmatized by some public censure: but, through their own and Cromwell's interest, they were too well established to fear any open attack from their enemies.

In the mean while, the bishop of Worcester, highly satisfied with the prospect of a reformation, repaired to his diocese, having made no longer stay in London than was absolutely necessary. He had no talents, and he knew that he had none, for state-affairs; and therefore he meddled not with them. His whole ambition was, to discharge the pastoral functions of a bishop, neither aiming to display the abilities of the statesman, nor those of the courtier. How very unqualified he was to support the latter of these characters, will sufficiently appear from the following story.

It was the custom, in those days, for the bishops, to make presents to the king, upon the first day of a new year; and many of them would present very liberally, proportioning their gifts to their expectations. Among the rest, the bishop

of Worcester, being at this time in town, waited upon the king with his offering; but, instead of a purse of gold, which was the common oblation, he presented a New Testament, with a leaf doubled down, in a very conspicuous manner, to this passage, "Whoremongers and adulterers God will judge."

After he had resided about two years in his diocese, he was again summoned to London in 1539, to attend the business of parliament. Soon after his arrival, he was accused before the king of preaching a seditious sermon. This sermon he had preached at court, and according to his custom, had been, unquestionably, severe enough against whatever he observed amiss. His accuser, who is said to have been a person of great eminence about the king, was most probably Gardiner bishop of Winchester; who at this time was coming into great favour at court, and had alienated the king's mind from the protestant interest. But Latimer being called upon by the king, with some sternness, to vindicate himself, was so far from denying, or even palliating, what he had said, that he boldly justified it; and turning to the king, with that noble unconcern which a good conscience inspires, made this answer: "I never thought myself worthy, nor I never sued to be a preacher before your grace; but I was called to it, and would be willing, if you mislike me, to give place to my betters; for I grant there be a great many more worthy of the room than I am; and if it be your grace's pleasure to allow them for preachers, I could be content to bear their books after them. But if your grace allow me for a preacher, I would desire you to give me leave to discharge my conscience, and to frame my doctrine according to my audience. I had been a very dolt indeed, to have preached so at the borders of your realm, as I
preach

preach before your grace." The greatness of this answer baffled his accuser's malice; the severity of the king's countenance changed into a gracious smile; and the bishop was dismissed with that obliging freedom, which this monarch never used, but to those whom he esteemed.

About this time, the six articles of religion, having passed both houses, received the royal assent; they were justly styled the bloody articles, by the protestants, who foresaw that they were calculated to restore the old religion. It was enacted by the statute: that, whoever should deny the doctrine of transubstantiation, either in speech or by writing, should be adjudged to be heretics, and burnt without any abjuration being admitted, and their estates be forfeited to the king: — that whoever should maintain the necessity of communicating in both species; — affirm, that it was lawful for priests to marry; — that vows of chastity might be violated; — that private masses were useless; — or that auricular confession was not necessary to salvation, were to be adjudged felons, and to suffer death as such, without benefit of clergy.

Thus papists and protestants by the versatility of the king's disposition and the violence of his temper, were alike exposed to the flames, the one if they denied the king's supremacy, the other if they did not obey the six articles. Our worthy prelate, was one of the first who took offence at these articles, he refused to give his vote in favour of them, and he thought it wrong to hold any office, in a church where such terms of communion were required. He therefore, resigned his bishopric. It is related of him, that when he came from the parliament house to his lodgings, he threw off his robes, and leaping up, declared to those who stood about him, " That he thought

thought himself lighter, than ever he found himself before."

After this, he immediately retired into the country, where he thought of nothing, for the remainder of his days, but a sequestered life. But having received a bruise by the fall of a tree, and the contusion being so dangerous, that he was obliged to seek out for better assistance than could be afforded him by the unskilful surgeons of those parts; he repaired again to London. Here he found things still in a worse condition than he left them. The duke of Norfolk, and the bishop of Winchester, who were the principal instruments in the ruin of the earl of Essex, were now at the head of the popish party: under the direction of these zealots, such a scene of blood ensued, as England had not yet seen. Latimer, among others, felt the effects of their bigotry; their emissaries soon found him, and accused him of having spoken against the statutes, in consequence of which he was committed to the Tower. Into what particulars his accusation was afterwards digested, or whether into any, we meet with no account. It is rather probable, that nothing formal was brought against him; for we do not find he was ever judicially examined. He suffered, however, through one pretence or other, a cruel imprisonment during the remainder of king Henry's reign.

But after remaining in the Tower upwards of six years, in the constant practice of every Christian virtue; upon the accession of Edward VI. he, and all others who were imprisoned for the same cause, were set at liberty; and Latimer, whose old friends were now in power, was received by them, with every mark of affection. Heath, had succeeded him in the bishopric of Worcester; and the parliament, sent an address to the protector,

tor, begging him to restore Mr. Latimer to the bishopric of Worcester, which greatly distressed Heath, who was a violent bigot to the Romish church; and was deprived in 1550; but on the resumption being proposed to Latimer, he desired to be excused, alledging his great age, and the claim he had from thence to a private life. Having thus rid himself of all incumbrances, he accepted an invitation from his friend, archbishop Cranmer, and took up his residence at Lambeth, where he led a very retired life.

His chief employment was to hear the complaints, and to redress the injuries, of the poor people; and his character for services of this kind was so universally known, that strangers, from every part of England, would resort to him, vexed either by the delays of public courts and offices, or harrassed by the oppressions of the great.

In these employments, and in assisting archbishop Cranmer to compose the homilies, which were set forth by authority, in the first year of king Edward, he spent upwards of two years.

But as he was one of the most eloquent and popular preachers in England, he was appointed during the three first years of king Edward, to preach the Lent sermons before the king. And upon these occasions, he attacked the vices of the great with honest freedom, and charged them particularly with covetousness, bribery, and extortion from the poor, so home, that it was impossible for them, by any self-deceit, to avoid the direct application of his reproofs to themselves.

Upon the revolution at court, after the duke of Somerset's death, he retired into the country, and made use of the king's licence, as a general preacher, in those parts where he thought his labours might be most useful: but, upon the accession of queen Mary, he soon lost this liberty. The bi-

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shop of Winchester, who had proscribed him with the first, sent a messenger to cite him before the council. He had notice of this design some hours before the messenger's arrival, but he made no use of the intelligence; like other eminent reformers of that time, he chose rather to meet, than avoid persecution.

The messenger therefore found him equipped for his journey: at which expressing his surprize, Mr. Latimer told him, That he was as ready to attend him to London, thus called upon to answer for his faith, as he ever was to take any journey in his life: and, that he doubted not but that God, who had already enabled him to stand before two princes, would enable him to stand before a third. The messenger then acquainting him, that he had no orders to seize his person, delivered a letter and departed. From which it is plain, they chose rather to drive him out of the kingdom, than to bring him to any public question.

Mr. Latimer, upon opening the letter, and finding it to contain a citation from the council, resolved to obey it. He set out, therefore, immediately for London. As he passed through Smithfield, where heretics were usually burnt, he said chearfully, "This place hath long groaned for me." The next morning he waited upon the council, who, having loaded him with many severe reproaches, sent him to the Tower.

This was but a repetition of a former part of his life; only he now met with harsher treatment, and had more frequent occasions to exercise his resignation; which virtue no man more eminently possessed, neither did the usual chearfulness of his disposition now forsake him; of which we have a remarkable instance on record. A servant going out of his apartment, Mr. Latimer called after him, and bid him tell his master, That, unless he took
better

better care of him, he should certainly escape him. Upon this message, the lieutenant, with some discomposure in his countenance, came to him, and desired an explanation of what he had said to his servant. "Why, you expect, I suppose, Sir," replied Mr. Latimer, "that I should be burned; but, if you do not allow me a little fire, this frosty weather, I can tell you I shall first be starved."

About the same time archbishop Cranmer, and Ridley bishop of London, were committed to the Tower; of the former we shall take little notice at present, referring the reader to his life, in its proper place, but we shall here introduce such memoirs of bishop Ridley, as will be sufficient to do honour to his memory, without breaking in upon our enlarged historical plan, by inserting all the uninteresting incidents of his life.

NICHOLAS RIDLEY, first made himself conspicuous at Cambridge, in 1530; after having spent some time in the study of divinity at the Sorbonne at Paris, and at the university of Louvaine in Flanders. At this time, two vain young students of Oxford, came to Cambridge, and challenged the whole university to a public disputation on the two following questions. The first was, whether the civil law was more excellent (as a profession) than medicine? The second, whether a woman condemned to death, being twice tied up, and the cords breaking, ought to be tied up again? No mention is made which side of these frivolous questions Mr. Ridley took, but it is certain, that he soon baffled one of the antagonists, and the other feigning sickness, the disputation ended, and the victory was ascribed to Mr. Ridley of University College, though he had four associates.

In 1536, archbishop Cranmer hearing of his great reputation as a man of extensive learning, made him one of his chaplains, and being better pleased with him,

him, on a familiar acquaintance, he gave him the Vicarage of Herne in Kent, and ever after became his patron.

In 1543, a fruitless attempt was made by the popish bishops to ruin Mr. Ridley and his patron, though Mr. Ridley at this time only objected to some of the six bloody articles, and still believed in the doctrine of transubstantiation; but in 1545, having read some tracts published by the Zuinglians, in Germany, on the doctrine of the sacrament, in which transubstantiation was proved to be an innovation of the church of Rome, he became a thorough convert to all the tenets of the reformation; in 1548, he was promoted to the see of Rochester, and upon the deprivation of Bonner, he was translated to that of London, to which Westminster being suppressed, was united, the following year.

In 1551, bishop Ridley gave a striking proof of his piety and goodness, for though the sweating sickness raged violently at London, and was as fatal as the plague, he resided, and assiduously endeavoured to make this public calamity of use, by preaching repentance, and a reformation of manners.

It was this worthy prelate, who in 1553, preached the excellent sermon on charity before king Edward VI. which induced the pious young monarch to found the hospitals, as mentioned in the life of the duke of Northumberland; thus worthily did he fill his high station in the church; and being zealous for the preservation of the protestant religion, after the king's death, he preached at St. Paul's, in obedience to an order of council, recommending lady Jane Grey to the people as their lawful queen: for this offence, upon Mary's accession he was committed to the Tower, with Cranmer, engaged in the same cause; and

and this bigoted queen, though she might have tried them with the other state prisoners for treason, chose rather to proceed against them as heretics.

After the three bishops had been imprisoned some months in the Tower, the convocation sent them under the care of the lieutenant of the Tower to Oxford, to be present at a public disputation to be held there, when it was said, the long depending controversy between the papists and the protestants, would be finally determined by the most eminent divines of both parties, but when they arrived there, which was in March 1554, they were all closely confined in the common prison, and denied the use of pen, ink, and paper, a plain proof that no free disputation was intended. In this comfortless situation their chief resource was in prayer, in which they spent great part of every day. Mr. Latimer, particularly, would often continue kneeling till he was not able to rise without help. The principal subject of his prayers was, that God would enable him to maintain the profession of his religion to the last; that God would again restore his Gospel to England, and preserve the princess Elizabeth to be a comfort to this land.

Fox has preserved a conference, afterwards committed to writing, which was held at this time, between Ridley and Latimer.

The two bishops are represented sitting in their prison, ruminating upon the solemn preparations then making for their trial, of which probably they were now first informed. Bishop Ridley first broke silence. "The time," said he, "is now come; we are now called upon either to deny our faith, or to suffer death in its defence. You, Mr. Latimer,

Latimer, are an old soldier of Christ, and have frequently withstood the fear of death; whereas I am raw in the service, and unexperienced." With this preface he introduces a request, that Mr. Latimer, whom he calls his father, would hear him propose such arguments as he thought it most likely his adversaries would urge against him, and assist him in providing himself with proper answers to them. To this, Mr. Latimer, in his usual strain of good-humour, answered, That, he fancied, the good bishop was treating him, as he remembered Mr. Bilney used formerly to do, who, when he wanted to teach him, would always do it under colour of being taught himself. "But, in the present case," says he, "my lord, I am determined for myself, to give them very little trouble. I shall just offer them a plain account of my faith, and shall say very little more; for I know any thing more will be to no purpose. They talk of a free disputation; but, I am well assured, their grand argument will be, that of their forefathers. We have a law, and by our law, ye ought to die." However, upon Mr. Ridley's pressing his request, they entered upon the examination he desired.

This part of their conference contains only the common arguments against the tenets of popery. When they had finished this exercise, Ridley desired Latimer's prayers, that he might be enabled to trust in God.

"Of my prayers," replied the old bishop, "you may be well assured; nor do I doubt but I shall have your's in return. And, indeed, prayer and patience should be our great resources. For myself, had I the learning of St. Paul, I should think it ill laid out upon an elaborate defence. Yet our case, my lord, admits of comfort. Our enemies can do no more than God permits; and God is faithful; who will not suffer us to be tempted

tempted above our strength. Be at a point with them; stand to that, and let them say and do what they please. To use many words would be vain; yet it is requisite to give a reasonable account of your faith, if they will hear you. For other things, in a wicked judgement-hall, a man may keep silence after the example of Christ. As for their sophistry, you know falshood may often be displayed in the colours of truth. But, above all things, be upon your guard against the fear of death. This is the great argument you must oppose. — Poor Shaxton! (bishop of Salisbury, who recanted, and then became a persecutor of the protestants), it is to be feared this argument had the greatest weight in his recantation. But let us be stedfast, and unmoveable; assuring ourselves that we cannot be more happy, than by being such Philippians, as not only believe in Christ, but dare suffer for his sake.

The commissioners from the convocation, arrived at Oxford in April, and assembled at St. Mary's church, where, being arrayed in scarlet, they seated themselves before the high altar; and placing the prolocutor Dr. Weston, in the middle, they sent for the prisoners. Cranmer and Ridley being first brought in, were told that the convocation had signed their belief of the following articles, which the queen expected they would either subscribe, or confute.

“The natural body of Christ is really in the sacrament after the words spoken by the priest.

“In the sacrament, after the words of consecration, no other substance does remain, than the substance of the body and blood of Christ.

“In the mass is a sacrifice propitiatory for the sins of the quick and dead.”

Cranmer and Ridley having refused to sign these articles, copies were delivered to them, and the prolocutor

prolocutor fixed two separate days, when he told them, it would be expected, they should publicly argue against them.

Bishop Latimer was next introduced, like a primitive martyr, in his prison attire. He had a cap upon his head, buttoned under his chin, a pair of spectacles hanging at his breast, a New Testament under his arm, and a staff in his hand. He was almost exhausted with pressing through the croud; and the prolocutor ordering a chair to be brought for him, he walked up to it, and, saying he was a very old man, sat down without any ceremony. The articles were then read to him; which he denied also. The prolocutor, upon this, telling him, that he must dispute on the Wednesday following, the old bishop, with as much cheerfulness as he would have shewn upon the most ordinary occasion, shaking his palsied head, answered, smiling, "Indeed, gentlemen, I am just as well qualified to be made governor of Calais." He then complained, that he was very old, and very infirm; and said, That he had the use of no book but that under his arm; which he had read seven times over deliberately, without finding the least mention made of the mass. In this speech he gave great offence, by saying, in his humorous way, alluding to transubstantiation, that he could find neither the marrow-bones, nor the sinews, of the mass in the New Testament. Upon which, the prolocutor cried out, with some warmth, that he would make him find both: "That you will never do, master doctor," replied Latimer; after which he was silenced.

Our venerable old man, adhered to the resolution he had mentioned in his conference with Ridley, and, when the time of his disputation came, knowing, says Mr. Addison (*Spectator* No 463) "How his abilities were impaired by

age, and that it was impossible for him to recollect all those reasons which had directed him in the choice of his religion, he left his companions, who were in the full possession of their vigour and learning, to baffle and confound their antagonists by the force of reason," while he only repeated to his adversaries, the articles in which he firmly believed, and in the profession of which he was determined to die.

The particulars of this mock disputation, being tedious, uninteresting, and truly ridiculous, are omitted in favour of the important transactions of the reign of queen Mary, included in this volume. Suffice it therefore, to observe, that all the arguments used by Cranmer and Ridley, were treated with indecent contempt, and instead of being fairly canvassed, were over-ruled by the insolence of authority, and the wild uproar of countenanced clamour and tumult.

In a few days after these shameful proceedings, the commissioners, seated in their accustomed form, sent for the bishops to St. Mary's church: where, after some affected exhortations to recant, the prolocutor first excommunicated, and then condemned them. As soon as the sentence was read, bishop Latimer, lifting up his eyes, cried out, "I thank God, most heartily, that he hath prolonged my life to this end!" To which the prolocutor replied, "If you go to heaven in this faith, I am thoroughly persuaded I shall never get there."

The three bishops were continued close prisoners at Oxford, upwards of sixteen months, till the pope's authority, and the legantine power were completely restored in England, by act of parliament; for it should seem, that till this was effected, and the old sanguinary laws against heretics revived, they could not be put to death, with the least shadow of justice, the statutes on which the sentence

sentence against them was founded, not being in force at the time, it was passed upon them. Therefore, a new commission was granted by Cardinal Pole, the Pope's legate, to White, bishop of Lincoln, Brookes, bishop of Gloucester, and Hollman, bishop of Bristol, empowering them to cite Ridley and Latimer before them, in order to receive them into the bosom of the church, if they would renounce their errors; or to condemn them as heretics, and deliver them over to the secular power, if they remained obstinate.

On the 30th of September 1555, the commissioners having seated themselves, in great state, in the divinity school, sent for Ridley, who refusing to subscribe to much the same articles as had before been tendered to him; they then sent for Latimer, and great pains were taken by the bishop of Lincoln, to make him renounce his opinion, in a most eloquent and pathetic speech, in which he exhorted him to accept the mercy offered to him, and to acknowledge the authority of the Pope.

Mr. Latimer thanked the bishop for his gentle treatment of him; but, at the same time, assured him, how vain it was to expect from him, any acknowledgment of the pope. He did not believe, he said, that any such jurisdiction had been given to the see of Rome, nor had the bishops of Rome behaved as if their power had been from God. He then quoted a popish book, which had lately been written, to shew how grossly the papists would misrepresent scripture: and concluded with saying, that he thought the clergy had nothing to do with temporal power, nor ought ever to be intrusted with it; and that their commission from their master, in his opinion, extended no farther than to the discharge of their pastoral functions. To this the bishop of Lincoln replied, " That he

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thought his style not quite so decent as it might be; and that as to the book which he quoted, he knew nothing of it." At this Latimer expressed his surprize, and told him, that although he did not know the author of it, yet it was written by a person of note, the bishop of Gloucester.

This produced some mirth among the audience, as the bishop of Gloucester sat then upon the bench. That prelate, finding himself thus publicly challenged, rose up, and, addressing himself to Mr. Latimer, paid him some compliments upon his learning, and then spoke in vindication of his book. But his zeal carrying him too far, the bishop of Lincoln, interrupting him, said, "We came not here my lord, to dispute with Mr. Latimer, but to take his answer to certain articles, which shall be proposed to him."

The articles were then read, and Mr. Latimer answered every one of them; at the same time protesting, which protestation he begged might be registered, that, notwithstanding his answers to the pope's commissioners, he by no means acknowledged the authority of the pope. The notaries having taken down his answers and protestation, the bishop of Lincoln told him, "That, as far as he could, he would shew lenity to him: that the answers which he had now given in, should not be prejudicial to him; but that he should be called upon the next morning, when he might make what alterations he pleased; and that he hoped in God, he would then find him in a better temper." To this the good old man answered, "That he begged, they would do with him then just, what they pleased, and that he might not trouble them, nor they him, another day; that as to his opinions, he was fixed in them, and that any respite would be needless." The bishop, however, told him,

him, that he must appear the next morning, and then dissolved the assembly.

Accordingly, the commissioners sitting in the same form, he was brought in: and when the tumult was composed, the bishop of Lincoln told him, that although he might justly have proceeded to judgement against him, the day before, yet he could not help postponing it one day longer. "In hopes, said he, Sir, that you might reason yourself into a better way of thinking, and at length embrace, what we all so much desire, that mercy, which our holy church now, for the last time, offereth to you." "Alas! my lord, answered Mr. Latimer, your indulgence is to no purpose. When a man is convinced of a truth, even to deliberate is unlawful. I am fully resolved against the church of Rome; and, once for all, my answer is, I never will embrace its communion. If you urge me farther, I will reply as St. Cyprian did, on a like occasion. He stood before his judges, upon a charge of heresy; and being asked, which were more probably of the church of Christ, he and his party, who were every where despised, or they, his judges, who were every where in esteem; he answered resolutely, "That Christ had decided that point, when he mentioned it, as a mark of his disciples, that they should take up their cross and follow him." If this then, my lords, be one of the characteristics of the christian church, whether shall we denominate by that name, the church of Rome, which hath always been a persecutor, or that small body of christians, which is persecuted by it?" "You mention, Sir, said Lincoln, with a bad grace, your cause and St. Cyprian's together: they are wholly different." "No, my lord, replied Latimer, his was the word of God, and so is mine."

The bishop of Lincoln finding his repeated exhortations had no effect, at length passed sentence upon him. Mr. Latimer then asked him, whether there laid any appeal from this judgement? "To whom, said the bishop of Lincoln, would you appeal?" "To the next general council," answered Mr. Latimer, that shall be regularly assembled." "It will be a long time, replied the bishop, before Europe will see such a council as you mean." Having said this, he committed Mr. Latimer to the custody of the mayor, and dissolved the assembly. On the same day, likewise, sentence was passed on Ridley, and the 16th of October, about a fortnight from this time, was fixed for their execution.

On the north side of the town, near Baliol-college, a spot of ground was chosen for the place of execution. Hither, on the sixteenth, the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and other persons of distinction, appointed for that purpose, repaired early in the morning; and a guard being drawn round the place, the prisoners were sent for. Bishop Ridley first entered this dreadful circle, accompanied by the mayor: soon after, bishop Latimer was brought in. The former was dressed in his episcopal habit; the latter, as usual, in his prison-attire. This difference in their dress made a moving contrast, and augmented the concern of the spectators: the bishop of London shewing what they had before been; Latimer, what they were now reduced to.

While they stood before the stake, about to prepare themselves for the fire, they were informed, they must first hear a sermon; and, soon after, Dr. Smith, ascended a pulpit, prepared for that purpose, and preached on these words of St. Paul, "Though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing?"

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In his discourse, he treated the two bishops with great inhumanity, aspersing both their characters and tenets.

The sermon being ended, the bishop of London was beginning to say something in defence of himself, when the vice-chancellor, starting up suddenly from his seat, ran towards him, and stopping his mouth with his hand, told him, "That if he was going to recant, he should have leave: but he should be permitted in nothing farther." The bishop, thus checked, looking round, with a noble air, cried out, "We commit our cause then to Almighty God." And immediately an officer stepped up, and acquainted them, "That, at their leisure, they might now make ready for the stake."

The spectators burst into tears, when they saw these two venerable men now preparing for death. Reflecting, says Fox, on their preferments, the places of honour they held in the commonwealth, the favour they stood in with their princes, their great learning, and greater piety, they were overwhelmed with sorrow to see so much dignity, so much honour, so much estimation, so many godly virtues, the study of so many years, and so much excellent learning, about to be consumed in one moment. Mr. Latimer, having thrown off the old gown, which was wrapped about him, appeared in a shroud, prepared for the purpose; and "whereas before, he seemed a withered and crooked old man, he now stood bolt upright, as comely a father, as one might lightly behold."

And when he, and his fellow-sufferer were ready, they were both fastened to a stake with an iron chain: they then brought a faggot ready kindled and laid it at Ridley's feet; to whom Latimer said, "Be of good comfort master Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day light such a

candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out;" he then recommended his soul to God, and the flames speedily reaching him, he soon expired seemingly without much pain; but it was not so with poor Ridley, for by some mismanagement of the fire on his side of the stake, the wind blew the flames from the upper part of his body, and his legs were consumed before the fire approached the vital parts, which made him endure dreadful torments for some time, till the flames caught some gunpowder, which had been tied about their waists, and had hastened the death of Latimer; after this he was not observed to move, and the chain loosening, his body fell at the feet of him, whose animating precepts, and noble fortitude, had so eminently contributed to enable him to pass through this fiery trial, to eternal bliss.

The characters of these holy martyrs, differed only in point of learning, in which Ridley was superior, for in piety, charity, humility, and exemplary manners, it is hard to say which excelled, and the theological tracts they left behind, though written in a very different style, were calculated to answer the sole purpose of promoting true religion, and practical morality.

* * *Authorities.* Gilpin's life of Bishop Latimer, edit. 1755. Burnet; and Fox.

Life of Bishop Ridley, by Geo. Ridley L. L. B. 1763.

The LIFE of
STEPHEN GARDINER
BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

(Including Memoirs of JOHN HOOPER, Bishop of
 GLOUCESTER.)

(A. D. 1483, to 1555-)

STEPHEN GARDINER, the chief contriver and instrument of the horrid persecution in the reign of queen Mary, of which we have already exhibited a melancholy specimen; is supposed to have been the natural son of Lionel Widville, bishop of Salisbury, and brother to Elizabeth, queen consort of Edward IV. But that prelate, to conceal his incontinence from the world, married his concubine to one of his menial servants, whose name was Gardiner, and who thereby became the reputed father of the infant, of whom she was then pregnant. Young Gardiner was born about 1483, at Bury St. Edmund, in Suffolk, and the next certain account we have of him is, that he studied at Trinity College Cambridge, where he first distinguished himself for his skill in the Greek, his elegance in speaking and

writing Latin, and a prompt capacity for learning in general. Afterwards, confining himself entirely to the study of the civil and canon law, about the year 1521, he was honoured with doctors degrees in both these sciences, and his great reputation at Cambridge, recommended him to the notice of the great men at court, particularly, the duke of Norfolk, and cardinal Wolsey, the latter of whom took him into his family, and made him his secretary.

In 1525, Henry paying a visit to the cardinal, found his secretary employed in drawing the plan of a treaty of alliance with FRANCIS I. which had been projected by the cardinal: the king perused it, and was so struck with this outline of Gardiner's political talents, that from this time he enjoyed the confidence both of the king and his minister, and as a proof of it, he was sent to Rome in 1528, to negotiate the famous divorce. Edward Fox, provost of King's College Cambridge, was joined in the commission, but only as second to Gardiner, who was esteemed the best civilian in England, which alone was a sufficient cause for sending him on this embassy. In his credential letters to the pope, the cardinal styles him, "Primary secretary of the most secret councils."

When the ambassadors arrived at Oviato, where the pope then resided, Dr. Gardiner used very free language with his holiness, shewed him the danger he was in of losing the king by playing a double game; and how much injury he would do to cardinal Wolsey if he disappointed his expectations. By this method he succeeded in obtaining what his instructions required; a new commission for trying the cause in England, directed to Wolsey and Campejus.

Fox

Fox was sent home with a full account of this negociation, which highly pleased the king and Ann Boleyn; but the pope being taken ill, Wolfey sent dispatches to Gardiner, desiring him to wait the event, and to exert himself in supporting his interest with the cardinals, that in case of the pope's death, he might be elected his successor.

In the course of this long embassy, the pope, whose mind was continually perplexed, and to whom the Imperial, French, and English ministers allowed no quiet, fell dangerously ill again; the distractions, of his mind operating upon the humours of his body, and this, as might be expected, gave a new turn to the intrigues of Rome.

Dr. Gardiner had as large a share in these as any minister; for he laboured the cause of the cardinal of York, in case the pope's death should make way for a new election: he also managed the whole affair with his holiness much to the satisfaction of the king, the cardinal, and Ann Boleyn; all of whom writ him most thankful and affectionate letters; till, finding the pope was determined to do nothing, Henry called Gardiner from Rome, in order to make use of him in the management of his cause before the legantine court.

Upon his return, he had the archdeaconry of Norfolk bestowed upon him by bishop Nyx, of Norwich, for whom he had obtained some favours from the pope. He was installed on the first of March, 1529; and this, as far as appears, was his first preferment in the church: but in the state he made a more rapid progress; for the king, having constant occasion for his services, took him from Wolfey, and made him secretary of state.

And when cardinal Campejus avoked the cause of the divorce to Rome, the following year, Gardiner

diner in conjunction with Fox, found out Cranmer, and having engaged him to write in favour of the divorce, they undertook to manage the university of Cambridge, so as to procure their declaration in the king's cause, after Dr. Cranmer's book should appear in support of it; which task by great address, and much artifice, they fully accomplished.

For this service, Henry amply rewarded him, with ecclesiastical preferments: in the spring of the year 1531, he was installed archdeacon of Leicester, upon which he resigned the archdeaconry of Norfolk, and, in September, he also resigned that, in favour of his coadjutor Dr. Edward Fox, who became afterwards bishop of Hereford. In November, he was consecrated bishop of Winchester.

Dr. Gardiner, it seems, was not apprized of the king's intentions, who would sometimes *rate* him soundly, and, at the instant he bestowed it, put him in mind of it. "I have," said he, "often squared with you, Gardiner, (a word he used for these kind of rebukes) but I love you never the worse, as the bishopric I give you will convince you."

Henry had another practice, which he called *whetting*; this was scolding with pen, ink, and paper, and when some of Gardiner's friends saw letters to him in this style, they concluded he was a ruined man, but he, who knew the king's temper, was in no pain upon that account.

Our prelate sat with Dr. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, when that prelate pronounced the sentence of divorce against queen Catharine; or, rather, declared her marriage with the king null and void, on the twentieth of May, 1533. The same year, he was sent to Marseilles, that he might

might have an eye to the interview between the French king and the pope; Bonner, afterwards bishop of London, was sent after him, with Henry and Cranmer's appeal from the pope, to the next general council, lawfully called, and he complained bitterly, in a letter to Cromwell of Gardiner's haughty, stubborn, wilful temper, which, as his power increased broke forth into acts of brutal cruelty.

Upon his return to England, he was called upon, as other bishops were, not only to acknowledge and yield obedience to the king as supreme head of the church, but to defend it; which he did: and this defence, he published: under the title, "Of True Obedience." His pen was made use of upon other occasions, and he never declined vindicating the king's proceedings in the business of the divorce, the subsequent marriage, or throwing off the dominion of the see of Rome; which writings then acquired him the highest reputation: but he was an arch dissembler, for all this time he was strongly attached to the see of Rome, and to every superstition of the Romish church: this was discoverable, through every veil of disguise, for in 1536, he opposed Cranmer's petition to the king for a new translation of the bible, and Cromwell's design of forming a religious league with the princes of Germany, as a means of promoting the reformation. About this time, he went on a second embassy to France, and procured the banishment of Reginald Pole, from that kingdom, who had before been exiled from England.

In 1538, he was sent ambassador, with Sir Henry Knevit to the German Diet, where he is allowed to have acquitted himself well in regard to his commission; but he was justly suspected of holding a secret correspondence with the pope, in order to introduce

introduce the papal authority again into England. And this suspicion was further confirmed when, upon his return from Germany, he advised the king to exert himself zealously in the prosecution of the *sacramentarians*, or heretics, denying the real presence : in consequence of which fatal advice, one John Lambert a schoolmaster, who had committed to writing his arguments against transubstantiation, was accused of heresy before Cranmer and Latimer, who endeavoured to screen him from prosecution, but Lambert by a fatal resolution appealed to the king, and Gardiner improved this opportunity so well, that he prevailed upon the king to try him in person, which was accordingly done, in great state, in Westminster-hall, before the lords of the council, the prelates, and several of the nobility. The king first attempted to prove the doctrine of the real presence from scripture, and after him, archbishop Cranmer ; but Gardiner thinking he argued but faintly, interposed in the argument, and was followed by eight other bishops, so that the poor man was at last overawed and silenced, condemned, and soon after burnt in Smithfield, with circumstances of uncommon barbarity.

In 1539, Gardiner gave a fresh instance of his persecuting spirit, for he was the principal promoter of the act, called the bloody statute, when it was before the house of lords, and there can be but little doubt, from his conduct afterwards, of the truth of the accusation brought against him, by writers of the first authority ; that he framed the six articles of this statute ; and the death of Dr. Robert Barnes, who was burnt, very soon after, upon this statute, is with reason attributed to him, for he was first imprisoned on account of a sermon, in which he arraigned the conduct of the bishop.

Upon

Upon the disgrace of Cromwell earl of Essex, Gardiner was elected chancellor of the university of Cambridge, and after the death of that minister, his influence increasing at court, he constantly exerted himself in oppressing the protestant and promoting the popish religion.

His next step was to decry the new English translation of the bible, which had been published in 1536, by the authority of Cromwell, and was brought before the convocation to be examined, soon after his death; Gardiner condemned it as defective, and meanly quibbled upon many Latin words in the New Testament, which he idly pretended could not be translated with proper dignity, and therefore must be continued in Latin. Two of the words indiscriminately taken, will convince the reader of the poverty of this artifice. *Penitentia*, *Adorare*. But delay of its approbation was obtained, and archbishop Cranmer was obliged to move the king to have the perusal of it referred to the two universities.

In 1543, we find Gardiner one of the commissioners appointed to conclude a treaty of peace with Scotland, and also a treaty of marriage between the young queen of Scotland, and Edward prince of Wales. But these affairs of state did not take off his attention from his two favourite points; persecution of those he called heretics, and preventing the progress of what was styled the new-learning; which consisted chiefly in acquiring such skill in the Greek language, as enabled men to read the primitive fathers, and thereby to discover the modern innovations of the Romish church; accordingly, this year he informed against some heretics at Windsor, and moved the king in council, for a commission to search suspected houses for heretical books, in consequence of which four persons were apprehended, three of whom were condemned and burnt.

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His infamous attempt to ruin archbishop Cranmer, which will be found in that prelate's life, happened about this time, and the king from this time began to conceive a bad opinion of him, and a circumstance soon occurred, which put it beyond a doubt that he secretly disliked the king's proceedings, and in his heart wished for the restoration of the pope's authority. In 1544, German Gardiner, the bishop's relation, chief confident, and private secretary, was apprehended, upon information, tried, condemned and executed for denying the king's supremacy; the king rationally concluded, that his master must secretly harbour the same sentiments, and upon this suspicion he had determined to send him to the Tower, but the bishop apprised of his design, and knowing the king loved sincerity, went to him, fell on his knees, acknowledged his guilt, craved his pardon and promised for the future to be a new man.

He was indeed forgiven, but in 1545, he was sent to Flanders on an embassy to the emperor, to solicit a league between Charles, Francis I. and Henry; which opportunity Cranmer wanted to improve, by persuading the king to abolish some of the most ridiculous ceremonies of the church; but Gardiner receiving intelligence of his designs, wrote to the king, that he should not succeed with the emperor, if any innovations were suffered in religion, in England. Upon his return in 1546, the persecution, which had abated during his absence, was renewed with additional cruelty, by him and his associate the lord chancellor Wriothesley, who, when the lieutenant of the Tower refused to torture a lady, (Mrs. Ayscough) any longer, had the brutal inhumanity, to throw off his gown and draw the rack himself, till he left her almost lifeless; but unable

to

to extort from her any accusations of the duchess of Suffolk and other ladies of the court, she was burnt soon after for her own heretical opinions.

But Gardiner carried his sanguinary views still higher, aiming at a royal victim; the queen Catherine Parr; this lady favoured Cranmer and the friends of the reformation, which rendered her extremely obnoxious to the popish party. And in the last year of Henry's life, they were very near accomplishing her destruction; for the queen had put the king out of humour, by advising him too freely, to complete the reformation, and when she was retired, after an argument upon this subject, Henry, in the presence of Gardiner, exclaimed with great warmth: "A good hearing it is when women become such clerks, and a thing much to my comfort, to come in mine old age, to be taught by my wife." The bishop with equal subtilty and malice aggravated the queen's offence, and insinuated, that he and his friends could make great discoveries against the queen, if they were not afraid of her faction. By such arts he prevailed upon the king to sign an order for arresting the queen, but the chancellor, who was entrusted with this paper, dropped it out of his bosom, and it was immediately carried to the queen, who so wrought upon the king's affections, as to dispel his suspicions; and this brought severe reproaches upon the chancellor, and the king's resentment against the bishop grew so strong, that he could never after endure him.

Yet the bishop still continued about the court, and though upon Henry's death he had the mortification to find he was excluded the regency, he ceased not to importune the protector by letters, dissuading him from making any alterations in religion during the minority. But Somerset and
Cranmer

Cranmer had now began to take measures for compleating the reformation ; and amongst others, a royal visitation was set on foot, and the homilies were appointed to be read in all churches : at the same time, the paraphrase of the New Testament by Erasmus was translated into English, and a copy ordered to be kept in every parish. Gardiner's opposition to these proceedings was so great, that he was cited to appear before the council, in September 1547, where he was accused of having written letters to that board, and of having uttered in conversation, many things in contempt of the king's visitation ; in confirmation of which, he then refused to receive the homilies, or to pay any obedience to the king's visitors in his diocese : whereupon he was committed a close prisoner to the Fleet, where he was treated with improper severity, and indeed his imprisonment was illegal, as he had not been judicially convicted of any crime. However, he was released in December, at the end of the sessions of parliament, and immediately repaired to his diocese.

Here he opposed to the utmost of his power, the preachers who were sent down by the council, to inculcate the principles of the reformation, in some places, ordering the rectors to deny them the use of their pulpits, in others, he ascended before them, and warned the congregations to beware of such teachers ; and complaints being sent to court of this conduct, he was once more brought before the council, and after being reprimanded, he was ordered to keep house till he had given satisfaction, which was to be done by preaching a sermon before the king and court, and with respect to the subjects of his discourse, he was to be directed by Sir William Cecil ; but in the sermon, he was so far from giving satisfaction,
that

that while he acknowledged the king's supremacy, he denied that of the regency, and spoke contemptuously of the council, he was therefore sent to the Tower the next day, being the 30th of June, 1548, where he continued a prisoner during the remainder of the reign of Edward VI.

When the protector's disgrace was projected, his enemies thought they could not employ a more skilful person than Gardiner to draw up the articles of impeachment against him, and having performed this service, he expected his release from the new council, but was miserably disappointed in his expectations.

What passed during his confinement, is of little consequence to the present reader; the conferences he had with the lords of the council, and their treatment of him, being variously represented by the Popish and Protestant writers; it may be sufficient to observe, that he once signed his approbation of all the measures that had been taken towards a reformation; yet the popish writers, boast his steady and invariable attachment to the Romish religion; but this was not the first instance of his duplicity.

In 1551, after twenty-two sittings of a court of delegates, he was deprived of his bishopric, for disobedience and contempt of the king's authority.

From this time, he remained quiet, and employed himself in composing Latin poems, translations into English verse, of the poetical part of the Old Testament, and some polemical tracts. He likewise kept up his spirits, consoling himself with an idea, which he often expressed, that he should live to see another change of fortune, and another court, in which he should be as great as ever.

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This prepossession of Gardiner's, which is not in the least wonderful, if the political situation of affairs, during Edward's illness, is duly attended to, was but too well founded; for queen Mary, on the third of August 1553, made her solemn entry into the Tower, when Gardiner, in the name of himself and his fellow prisoners, the duke of Norfolk, the duchess of Somerset, the lord Courtney, and others of high rank, made a congratulatory speech to her majesty, who gave them all their liberties, and Lloyd says, she kissed Gardiner, and called him her prisoner, (a prisoner for her cause). On the eighth of the same month he performed in the queen's presence, the Romish obsequies for the late king Edward, whose body was buried in Westminster, with the English service, by archbishop Cranmer, the funeral sermon being preached by bishop Day. On the ninth, bishop Gardiner went to Winchester-house, in Southwark, after a confinement of somewhat more than five years. On the twenty-third, he was declared chancellor of England, though his patent did not pass till the twenty-first of September. On the first of October he had the honour of crowning the queen, and on the fifth of the same month he opened the first parliament, in her reign. He was also rechosen chancellor of Cambridge, and restored to the mastership of Trinity-hall.

Thus in the space of about two months, from a prisoner in the Tower, he became possessed of greater civil and ecclesiastical power, than any English minister ever enjoyed, except cardinal Wolsey.

We shall now be able to discover the true character of Gardiner, by observing his conduct in the different capacities of a civilian, a prime minister, and an ecclesiastical inquisitor.

It has been asserted, that he always acted upon principle, and if he erred, that he did it conscientiously. But Burnet, justly imputes the frequent changes in his political conduct, and his cruelty, to his abject and servile spirit. The reader will judge from the following facts. Promoting the divorce, was the first service he rendered the father; and now reversing this divorce, and branding all who had been concerned in it, was the first service he performed for the daughter. He had also assisted, promoted, and defended, the king's supremacy, as much or more than any man in the kingdom, and had the reputation of penning the publications in defence of Henry's marriage with Anne Boleyn, which he now condemned as null and illegal. These do not speak in favour of his integrity as a civilian and canonist.

Mary, on her accession, had publicly declared, that she would force no man's conscience on account of religion. The chancellor, even when no priest, was styled the keeper of the king's conscience, but Gardiner, though a priest, chancellor and prime minister, advised Mary to violate her promise, as soon as he had the management of public affairs. For, before the end of the year, all the laws concerning religion, made in the reign of Edward VI. were repealed, and it was enacted, that there should be no other form of divine service, but that which was used in the last year of Henry VIII. The convocation was assembled, when those clergy who were in the protestant interest, were threatened, insulted, and interrupted in their arguments by Dr. Weston, the prolocutor, who said, "You have the word, but we have the sword." By which means the doctrine of transubstantiation was restored. Soon after, several protestant

protestant prelates were deprived, and the commissions for this purpose were directed to Gardiner, Bonner bishop of London and others. These proceedings threatening a severe persecution, above eight hundred protestant subjects fled the kingdom, and they made a timely escape: for in the beginning of the year 1554, the Marshalsea in London, and the prisons in other parts of the kingdom were filled with pretended heretics. During these commencements of cruelty, ambassadors arrived from the emperor Charles V, likewise king of Spain, to adjust a treaty of marriage between the queen and the emperor's son Philip. This intended marriage was obnoxious to the whole nation, but most to the friends of the reformation, who dreaded a Spanish government and a Spanish inquisition; and it gave rise to the rebellion, under Sir Thomas Wyatt, in which the duke of Suffolk, though a prisoner in the Tower, was concerned; the insurrection was soon quelled; but the unfortunate and amiable lady Jane Grey, the most learned and accomplished woman of the age, whom, it was thought, the queen would have pardoned, fell a victim to this last rash attempt of her father. Lady Jane, her husband, and father were beheaded in April, and the princess Elizabeth was confined in the Tower. It is asserted by some writers, that Gardiner advised the putting her to death, saying it was in vain to lop off the branches, if they did not destroy the root, the hope of the heretics; but the rest of the council overruled this infamous motion.

A new parliament being called, and great use having been made of 500,000 l. sent over by the emperor, during the elections, the marriage treaty was approved and ratified by both houses, after which this parliament was dissolved, and in July,

the nuptials were solemnized at Winchester, by Gardiner: Philip being in the twenty-seventh year of his age, and Mary in her thirty-ninth. After the ceremony of the marriage, they were proclaimed king and queen of England, France, Naples and Jerusalem, to which were added many other pompous titles. And in the way to London the royal pair stopped at Windsor, where Philip was installed knight of the garter.

A new parliament was chosen, being the third, and met on the eleventh of November, the chief transactions of which relating to cardinal Pole, will occur in his life; but it must be observed that a bill passed, for reviving the old statutes against heretics, made in the reigns of Richard II. Henry IV. and Henry V. and now Gardiner being in possession of a statute for putting protestants to death, which he was not till this act passed, he took to his assistance another evil spirit, worse than himself, Bonner bishop of London, and under the hands of these bloody inquisitors, the flames of persecution blazed forth with redoubled fury, in all parts of the kingdom.

Gardiner began with John Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's, who was condemned by him, and the council, and burnt in Smithfield, in January 1555, and he refused to let his wife visit him after his condemnation, because he was a priest, whose marriages were now declared illegal. Several others of inferior note, suffered the same month, in London.

At the same time, Hooper bishop of Gloucester was re-examined.

This eminent prelate was a native of Somersetshire, born in 1495, and educated at Merton college, Oxford. Soon after the statute of the six articles was enforced, he quitted the university, and

and lived some time with sir Thomas Arundel, as his chaplain and steward, but sir Thomas discovering that he was a protestant, he fled to France, but disliking the conduct of the reformed in that kingdom, he returned home; however finding the persecution upon the articles still continued, he disguised himself in the habit of a sailor, and got safe to Switzerland, where he was kindly received by Bullinger. On the accession of Edward VI, he came back to England, and was made chaplain to the protector, and in 1549, he was the chief accuser of Bonner, who was then deprived, and never forgave him.

In 1550, Hooper was made bishop of Gloucester, but refusing to wear the usual vestments, Cranmer refused to consecrate him, and he was sent to the Fleet for contumacy; but the following year the affair was compromised, and he was permitted to hold the bishopric of Worcester, in commendam with Gloucester.

But as soon as queen Mary was seated on the throne, he was sent for, to answer to the complaints exhibited against him by Heath (the deprived bishop of Worcester) and Bonner, who pretended he had falsely accused him in the late reign. But when he arrived at London, these charges were dropped, he was proceeded against as a heretic; and was deprived and condemned by his avowed enemies Gardiner and Bonner, two of the commissioners appointed to deprive the prelates.

From this time till the before-mentioned re-examination, he had been confined in the Fleet prison, but now he was removed to Newgate on his refusing to recant; here he was visited by Bonner and his chaplains, who offered him riches and honours if he would become a convert to the Romish

nish religion, but finding their endeavours fruitless, they spread a report, that he had recanted; and being informed of this treachery, it afflicted him so much, that he wrote a letter to his friends, to assure them and the public, that he was more than ever confirmed in the protestant faith; this exasperated the two bishops, and Bonner was sent to degrade him in Newgate, not as a bishop, for they did not acknowledge him as such, but as a priest: and on the first of February 1555, he was sent to Gloucester, guarded by a troop of horse, and on the ninth, he was burnt in that city, in a most inhuman manner, the fire being made of green wood, so that he was consumed by slow degrees, and suffered the most dreadful torments, with great patience and fortitude, above three quarters of an hour.

Gardiner had now brought three of the most eminent prelates of the reformed religion to the stake, but Cranmer still remained, who was reserved to answer his particular views. He expected that cardinal Pole would succeed to the archbishopric of Canterbury, if Cranmer was taken off at this time, and the death of pope Marcellus II. being daily expected, he was determined to use his interest to obtain the papacy for Pole, in which case he should have no rival for the see of Canterbury. But though the pope died while Gardiner was holding a kind of congress at Calais for a treaty of peace between France and Spain, in which commission the earl of Arundel and lord Paget were joined, their united interest by letters, could not prevail at Rome, where the conclave chose Paul IV.

Gardiner before he went upon this embassy, had left the persecution of the protestants chiefly to Bonner, and upon his return to England, he did

not appear to be so sanguine in this dreadful business as before. The new pope detesting Pole, Gardiner held a secret correspondence with his holiness, and had now more extensive views, for he was promised a cardinal's hat, and the legantine power, as soon as Pole could be decently recalled, after his great services, so lately performed in reconciling England to the see of Rome.

But death put a stop to his ambitious projects, on the 13th of November of this same year, in the course of which Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, and Farrar bishop of St. David's, besides a great number of private persons had been sacrificed to his unrelenting cruelty. It is said, he died in great agonies, of a suppression of urine, but various reports were propagated, respecting both the cause and manner of his death. However, it is certain, that he was ill from the twenty-third of October, the last day of his appearance in parliament, and during his illness it is generally agreed, that he felt some remorse of conscience for his past life, frequently exclaiming, *Erravi cum Petro, sed non flevi cum Petro*. "I have sinned with Peter, but I have not wept with him."

He died at the palace at Whitehall, from whence his remains were removed to Winchester house in Southwark, and interred with extraordinary pomp and solemnity.

This prelate's character may be summed up in a few words. He was a professed courtier, who could make his conscience yield to the complexion of the times; he was a learned man it is acknowledged, but instead of being a friend to learned men, as many writers have asserted, he put them to death, if they differed from him in opinion; he was a crafty negociator, but by no means an able statesman; for his administration was inglorious both at home and abroad; and as for his spirit of

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persecution, it was the effect of a base, narrow mind, and a cruel nature, not of any fixed principles of religion, for he never had any. His person is represented to have been as deformed as his soul, but the portrait, as given by Dr. Poynt, is so *outré*, that we cannot give it any degree of credit.

*** *Authorities.* Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. Burnet. Biog. Britannica, and British Biography, Vol. II.

The LIFE of
THOMAS CRANMER,
ARCHBISHOP of CANTERBURY.

[A. D. 1498, to 1556.]

THIS eminent divine was the son of Thomas Cranmer, Esq; and was born at Aslecton, in Nottinghamshire in 1489. He was admitted of Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1503, and distinguished himself by his unwearied application to his studies. He had been some time fellow of this college, when he married, but his wife dying within the year, he claimed, and readily obtained a restoration to his fellowship.

In the year 1523, he commenced doctor of divinity, in which station he was singularly useful,

by rejecting all ignorant candidates. And being in great esteem for theological learning, he was chosen reader of the divinity lecture in his own college, and appointed by the university to be one of the examiners of those who took their degrees in divinity.

During his residence at Cambridge, the question arose concerning king Henry's divorce; and the plague breaking out in the university about this time, he retired to a friend's house at Waltham-abbey; where casually meeting with Gardiner and Fox, the one the king's secretary, the other his almoner, and discoursing with them about the divorce, he freely delivered his opinion, "that it would be much better, to have the question, whether a man could lawfully marry his brother's wife? discussed and decided by the divines, upon the authority of God's word, than thus from year to year, to prolong the time, by having recourse to the pope. That there was but one truth in it, which the scripture would soon declare and manifest, being handled by learned men; and that might be done as well at the universities in England, as at Rome, or elsewhere." This declaration being communicated to the king, it so highly pleased him, that he directly said, "the man had the sow by the right ear," and gave orders, that Cranmer should be sent for to court.

Upon his arrival, which was in 1529, he was appointed chaplain to the king, and Sir Thomas Boleyn, father of Ann Boleyn, was desired to receive him into his family, and to furnish him with such books as he should require, to enable him to execute the king's command, which was, that he should draw up a defence in writing of the opinion he had given respecting the divorce. In the treatise, he shewed by the testimonies of the scriptures,
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of general councils and ancient writers, that the bishop of Rome had no authority to dispense with God's word; and from that, he proved the illegality of the king's marriage with Catherine of Arragon, his late brother Arthur's widow. When he had finished this tract, the king sent him to Cambridge, to dispute publicly upon the subject, accompanied by Gardiner, Fox, and other learned men, and they soon brought over a number of divines and civilians to Cranmer's opinion; who, upon his return to court was rewarded with a benefice and the archdeaconry of Taunton.

The following year Dr. Cranmer was sent by the king to France, Italy, and Germany, to dispute upon the same subject; Sir Thomas Boleyn, now earl of Wiltshire, being made chief ambassador upon this occasion, and furnished with credentials to the respective courts for this purpose. In France they convinced many learned men. At Rome, Cranmer's treatise was delivered to the pope, and he offered to justify it, at a public disputation, but after sundry promises and appointments, no adversary appeared, and at length, after some private conferences with the chief men about the pope, it was openly granted, in the pope's chief court of the Rota, that the marriage was unlawful, but they still defended the pope's authority to dispense with the scripture law.

The earl of Wiltshire transmitted such encomiums of Cranmer, that the king sent him a commission to be his sole ambassador, upon the same cause to the emperor. This gave him an opportunity of travelling through Germany, and as the emperor's court at that time was constantly in motion, by following it, he became acquainted with the most eminent German divines and civilians, many of whom embraced his opinion with respect

to the marriage. Among others, the celebrated Oslander, pastor of Nuremberg, publickly defended it, and an intimacy followed, which produced a close alliance, for Cranmer married Oslander's niece.

While Cranmer remained in Germany, the king employed him in other negociations, particularly in establishing a treatise of commerce between England, and the emperor's dominions in the low countries. And he went on a special embassy to the duke of Saxony and other protestant princes.

Upon the death of archbishop Warham, the king resolved to place Cranmer at the head of the church, and though it is assigned as the sole reason for this extraordinary promotion, that Henry judged him the fittest person among the whole body of the English clergy for this high station, there can be no doubt that he had a superior political reason, which was, to give sanction to his opinion concerning the divorce, on which he could then pass a decisive sentence, as head of the church, under the king; the pope's authority, in this case, being already subverted in his treatise. With this view Dr. Cranmer was ordered home, and upon his arrival he intreated the king to suffer him to decline the high honour he offered to confer upon him; but Henry insisting upon his acceptance, Cranmer now started a new opinion, which at first surprised the king, but in the end, served to strengthen his attachment to him. He asserted, that the king was the supreme governor of the church of England, as well in ecclesiastical as temporal concerns, and that the full right of donation of all benefices and bishoprics appertained to him, and not to any foreign authority.

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And therefore if he might receive the archbishopric from the king, he would accept it, but not (as was then the custom) from the pope, whose authority within the king's realm he denied. Thus was the foundation laid of the supremacy of the kings of England by this able divine.

In conformity to this declaration, he was consecrated in March 1533, when he made a notarial protest; that he did not admit the pope's authority, any further than it agreed with the express word of God, and that it might be lawful for him at all times to speak against him, and to impugn his errors, when there should be occasion. The pope, however, agreeable to usual custom, sent over the bulls, then judged necessary to complete the investiture; but Cranmer surrendered them to the king, from whom alone he consented to hold this dignity.

The first service the new archbishop did for the king, was, pronouncing the sentence of his divorce from queen Catherine; which was done on the twenty-third of May. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and the bishops of London, Bath, and Lincoln, being joined in commission with him.

On the twenty-eighth of the same month, he held a court at Lambeth, in which he confirmed the king's marriage with Ann Boleyn. And at the close of this year, when the pope's supremacy came under debate, the archbishop answered all the arguments brought in defence of it, with such strength and perspicuity, that it was abolished by the free and entire consent of parliament, and an act passed, establishing the king's supremacy over the church.

The pious archbishop having succeeded so far, vigorously exerted himself to promote the reformation, for which purpose, he prevailed upon the

convocation to petition the king for a translation of the bible. The issue of this application has been mentioned in the life of Gardiner, in giving an account of his opposition to the work when published.

The next salutary measure to which he gave his approbation, was the dissolution of the monasteries. He saw how inconsistent those foundations were with the reformation of religion, which he then had in view; and proposed, that out of the revenues of the monasteries, the king should found more bishoprics: that the dioceses being reduced into less compass, the bishops might the better discharge their duty according to the scripture and private practice.

He further advised, that the king should only have the revenues of such monasteries, as were royal foundations, endowed by his predecessors; and that the estates of the rest should be employed in founding hospitals, grammar schools, and other useful institutions. But the courtiers, who hoped to share the spoils, voted in parliament, that all the revenues of the monasteries should be appropriated to the king's use, and this resolution, having passed into a law, the archbishop and some other prelates incurred the king's displeasure for their good intentions. However, the king afterwards complied with part of the archbishop's plan, by founding six new bishoprics.

In 1537, the archbishop, with the joint authority of the bishops, set forth that valuable book, intitled, *The Institution of a Christian Man*. This book being composed by the bishops, was most commonly called *The BISHOPS BOOK*. It contains an explanation of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, Justification, and Purgatory.

In the year 1539, the interest of Gardiner and the popish faction increased, and then the king's zeal against heretics appeared by his pressing the bill containing the six bloody articles. The archbishop argued boldly in the house against it three days so strenuously, that, though the king was obstinate in passing the act, yet he desired a copy of his reasons against it; and shewed no resentment towards him for his opposition to it. His majesty indeed, would have persuaded him to withdraw out of the house, since he could not vote for the bill; but after a decent excuse, Cranmer told him, he thought himself obliged in conscience to stay and shew his dissent.

When the bill passed he entered his protest against it; and soon after he sent his wife privately away to her friends in Germany. The king, who esteemed him for his integrity and resolution, sent the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the lord Cromwell, to assure him of his favour, notwithstanding the passing of the act.

After the death of the earl of Essex, the archbishop retired for a time from court, and attended solely to ecclesiastical affairs. And in 1541, he ordered all superstitious shrines to be taken away from the churches, pursuant to the king's letters, which he had solicited for that purpose.

The following year, he endeavoured to get the severe articles moderated, and to procure the people the full liberty of reading the scriptures, but the popish bishops so far prevailed, that the bill was clogged with restraints and limitations, which made it fall far short of the archbishop's benevolent design. But even as it was, his enemies could no longer brook his introduction of further reformation, and therefore while he was piously holding a visitation at Canterbury, they collected and drew up articles against him, which being put

in order by Gardiner, and copied by his secretary, he got them signed by some of the prebendaries of Canterbury, and then, in the name of the church of Canterbury presented them to the council, by which means they came into the king's hands, who perceiving the whole charge was founded in malice, went the same evening to amuse himself upon the river, in his barge, taking the articles with him, and ordered the bargemen to row to Lambeth, the archbishop being returned from Canterbury. The servants perceiving the king's barge approach the shore, apprised their master, who was ready upon the stairs to receive him; but the king ordered him to come into the barge, and to seat himself by him, after which, he began to lament the growth of heresy, and the dissensions, and confusion that were likely to follow, adding, that he intended to find out the encourager of these heresies, and to make him an example to the rest. He then asked the archbishop's opinion upon this, who told him, it was a very good resolution, but intreated him to consider well what heresy was, and not to condemn those as heretics, who stood up for the word of God against human inventions. "O my chaplain, (replied the king) now I know who is the greatest heretic in Kent," and then shewed him the articles against him, his chaplains, and some of his friends; signed by some prebendaries of Canterbury, and justices of the peace in Kent. It both surprised and afflicted the worthy prelate, that those of his own church, and justices, whom he had obliged, should be guilty of such treachery. But having looked over the articles, and knowing the falsehood of them, he kneeled to the king, and acknowledging that he was still of the same opinion with respect to the six articles, but that he had done nothing against

gainst them, he desired his majesty to grant a commission to whomsoever he pleased, to try the truth of the accusations :

Then the king jocosely asked him, if his grace's bed-chamber would stand the test of those articles ? The archbishop frankly confessed, that he was married in Germany, during his embassy at the emperor's court, before his promotion to the see of Canterbury ; but, at the same time, assured the king, That, on passing that act, he had parted with his wife, and sent her abroad to her friends.

The king, in return for his sincerity, told him, he would grant a commission for the trial, but he had such confidence in his integrity, that he should name him the chief commissioner, being well assured, that he would bring the truth to light, though it were against himself ; he then named Dr. Bellhouse, second commissioner, and left the rest to the archbishop, adding, that if he managed the matter wisely, he would discover a pretty conspiracy against him. Cranmer expostulated with great modesty, against the appearance of partiality, in making him judge in his own cause, but the king was determined, and thus they parted.

The candid archbishop appointed his vicar-general, and his principal register, to be the other commissioners, though he knew they were secret favourers of the Romish faction. Then they went to Leversham and opened their commission, by sending for two of the prebends, the principal complainants against the archbishop, who, expostulated with them on their base ingratitude, in such pathetic terms, that they could not refrain from weeping : after ordering them into custody, Cranmer left the further discovery of the plot against him to the other commissioners, but they proceeding

proceeding but slowly in the business, the king sent Dr. Leigh, and Dr. Taylor, eminent civilians, as new commissioners, with fresh instructions; these gentlemen issued orders to the archbishop's officers, to go to Canterbury and search the houses of certain prebendaries, and others, suspected of the conspiracy, and to bring all letters or other writings they could find relative to the archbishop to them. The several officers executed their duty at the same hour, and in a short space of time; the whole conspiracy was discovered, and brought home to Gardiner, Bonner, and others, whose letters were found. These letters were afterwards perused by the king; but the archbishop was deeply affected, on finding among the papers, letters from Dr. Thornton and Dr. Barber, gentlemen of his own household, to whom he had given uncommon tokens of esteem and friendship. But the good archbishop, after making them pass sentence on themselves, by putting the question, what punishments the blackest ingratitude deserved, produced their letters; and upon their expressing sincere penitence, he dismissed them from his service, as unworthy of his future confidence; but he never expressed the least resentment against them afterwards, when he was obliged to see them upon public occasions. The archbishop's mild, forgiving temper, was so well known, that it became a common saying; "Do my lord of Canterbury an ill turn, and he will be your friend ever after."

A fresh instance of this christian temper appeared in 1544; for Sir John Gostwick, one of the members for Bedfordshire, accused the archbishop, in the house of commons, of manifest heresy against the sacrament of the altar, in his sermons and lectures at Sandwich, and at Canterbury; the king hearing of and knowing it to be a fresh effort of disappointed malice, sent a message to Gostwick,

wick, whom he called varlet, that if he did not acknowledge his fault, and so reconcile himself to the archbishop, that he might become his good lord, he would soon make him a poor Gostwick, and punish him as an example to others; justly adding, that he wondered how Gostwick who had never been in Kent, could hear my lord of Canterbury out of it: Gostwick, upon this, repaired to Lambeth, and not only obtained the archbishop's forgiveness, but his promise, which he performed, to intercede for him with the king.

This year, the archbishop's palace at Canterbury was burnt down, and his brother-in-law, with some other persons perished in the flames. And soon after this misfortune, the duke of Norfolk, and the rest of the popish party in the council, went to the king and made a formal complaint against the archbishop, alledging that he, with his learned men, had so infected the kingdom, that the major part of the people were become abominable heretics; and represented that this might produce commotions, like those which had sprung up in Germany, on the same account: they therefore prayed, that the archbishop might be committed to the Tower, until he could be examined, giving as a reason, that no man would dare to object matters against him being a privy counsellor, till he was confined. Their importunities prevailed, but the same night, the king sent a gentleman of his privy chamber to Lambeth, to fetch the archbishop; and, when he was come, told him, how he had been daily importuned to commit him to prison, as a favourer of heresy; and how far he had complied. The archbishop thanked his majesty for this timely notice, and declared himself willing to go to the Tower, and stand a trial; for, being conscious he was not guilty of any offence, he thought that the best way to clear his
innocence,

innocence, and remove all unreasonable and groundless suspicions. The king admiring his simplicity, told him, he was in the wrong to rely so much on his innocence; for, if he were once under a cloud, and hurried to prison, there would be villains enough to swear any thing against him; but, while he was at liberty, and his character entire, it would not be so easy to suborn witnesses against him: "and, therefore," continued he, "since your own unguarded simplicity makes you less cautious than you ought to be, I will suggest to you, the means of your preservation. To-morrow, you will be sent for to the privy-council, and examined; upon this, you are to request, that, since you have the honour to be one of the board, you may have so much favour as they would have themselves; that is, to have your accusers brought before you; and if they oppose this, and will not comply with your request, but persist in sending you to the Tower, then do you appeal from them to our person, giving them this ring, (which he then delivered to Cranmer) and they shall well understand how to act, for they know I never use that ring for any other purpose, but to call matters from the council, before me.

The next morning, the archbishop was summoned to the privy-council; and when he came there was denied admittance into the council-chamber. When Dr. Butts, one of the king's physicians, heard of this, he came to the archbishop, who was waiting in the lobby amongst the footmen, to shew his respect, and to protect him from insults.

The king soon after sent for the doctor, who acquainted his majesty with the shameful indignity put upon the archbishop. The king, incensed that the primate of all England should be used in
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so contumelious a manner, immediately sent to command them to admit the archbishop into the council-chamber. At his entrance, he was saluted with an heavy accusation of having infected the whole realm with heresy; and ordered to the Tower, till the whole of this charge was thoroughly examined. The archbishop desired to see the informers against him, and to have the liberty of defending himself before the council, and not to be sent to prison on bare suspicion: but, when this was absolutely denied him, and he found that neither arguments nor intreaties would prevail, he appealed to the king; and producing the ring he had given him, put a stop to their proceedings.

When they came before the king, he severely reprimanded them; expatiated on his obligations to Cranmer for his fidelity and integrity; and charged them, if they had any affection for him, to express it by their love and kindness to the archbishop.

But this was not to be expected from the duke of Norfolk, the archbishop having been the first who informed the king of the incontinence of the queen, Catherine Howard, the duke's neice.

Cranmer having escaped this snare, shewed not the least resentment for the injuries done to him; and, from this time, had so great a share in the king's favour, that nothing farther was attempted against him in this reign.

Our indefatigable prelate, now set about a revision and alteration of the ecclesiastical laws of England, which being founded on the canon law, were incompatible with the king's supremacy, or the general principles of the reformation. But when by the assistance of some of his friends he had completed a new body of ecclesiastical laws, he had the mortification to find his interest not sufficient to get them confirmed by parliament.

Henry

Henry VIII. died soon after, and archbishop Cranmer had the honour to place the crown on the head of his successor, and now having a protestant prince on the throne, and being himself one of the regency, every measure was taken, supported by the protector, to perfect the reformation. The archbishop procured a repeal of the statute of the six articles; he held a convocation in November 1547, in which he exhorted the clergy to throw off the corrupt innovations of popery, and to study the scriptures; the communion in both kinds was established; the marriage of priests declared lawful by a majority, and other measures taken, favourable to the new religion, in this convocation.

And it was observed, that Gardiner and Bonner were uncommonly assiduous in executing the archbishop's orders for suppressing ridiculous processions in their dioceses. The following year, Cranmer published a catechism, or short instruction in the christian religion for the use of children and young persons, and a latin treatise, against unwritten verities: intended to prove, that all idle traditions are to be disregarded and the bible be considered as the only oracle of salvation. He likewise obtained an order of council for the total removal of all images from the churches.

Hitherto, the conduct of archbishop Cranmer had been in every respect irreproachable, but in the year 1549, he obtained a commission together with Latimer, Ridley and others, by no means conformable to the spirit or principles of true christianity as it is found in the scriptures, which he professed to make the sole rule of all his actions. Complaint had been made to the council that with other foreigners who had lately been encouraged, being protestants, flying from persecu-
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tion, to come to England; several anabaptists and others, who taught strange doctrines were arrived and were propagating their errors. The commissioners were therefore authorised to endeavour to reclaim them, but if they persisted in their opinions to excommunicate them, and deliver them over to the secular power to be further proceeded against. This commission wore the aspect of popish persecution, for the mode of proceeding was the same, only it differed as to the objects, and it is said, it was framed after a commission given to Gardiner and Bonner in the last reign, to enforce the observance of the bloody statute. However this be, too true it is, to the eternal disgrace of Cranmer, that he passed sentence of death on a poor ignorant woman, one Joan Becher, who deserved the pity of a learned christian bishop, rather than condign punishment.

She denied "that Christ was truly incarnate of the Virgin, whose flesh being sinful, he could take none of it; but the word, by the consent of the inward man in the Virgin took flesh of her." These were her words, and they are to the full as intelligible as most of the opinions broached by the learned scholiasts, in the dark ages of superstition, or by our modern enthusiasts on the same inexplicable subject. We are sorry to add, that our archbishop over-ruled the discerning young monarch, who was against signing a warrant for her execution, and when he did set his hand to it, it was with tears in his eyes, and a protestation, that if he did wrong, it was in submission to the archbishop's authority, who must answer for it to God. This made a sensible impression on Cranmer, and both he and Ridley took great pains to convert the woman, delaying the execution from time to time for this purpose, but as she absolute-
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ly refused to abjure her nonsensical tenet, she was burnt in May 1550, and not long after, George Van Parre, a Dutchman, was condemned by the commissioners and committed to the flames, for maintaining that God the father was the only God, and that Christ was not very God.

This year, the archbishop and other commissioners deprived Gardiner; Bonner had shared the same fate a few months before. He also ordained several priests and deacons, for the first time, according to the form set forth in the book of Common Prayer, which having been revised, and amended, was established by act of parliament in 1552. Cranmer had now published his Treatise of the Sacrament, in which he confutes the doctrine of the real presence, and this tract gave great offence to the popish party, by whom Gardiner was persuaded to write against it, and the archbishop was severely reproached for having persisted so many years in the belief of the real presence, and then denying it so suddenly; and indeed, Cranmer owned that Ridley's conversation had led him to this late discovery of his former error. In the course of this year, the archbishop had two severe fits of illness, which prevented his attendance at the council-board, till the affair of the succession in favour of lady Jane Grey was partly determined; it appears that he opposed it, especially the exclusion of the princess Elizabeth, but in the end, he subscribed, and after Edward's death, he openly appeared for lady Jane, and was one of her council. But upon the accession of Mary, a false report was raised, that archbishop Cranmer, in order to make his court to the queen, had offered to restore the Latin service, and that he had already said mass in his cathedral church at Canterbury. To vindicate himself from this vile
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and base aspersions, the archbishop published a declaration, in which he not only cleared himself from that unjust imputation, but also made a challenge, with the assistance of Peter Martyr, and a few more, to maintain by a public disputation, the liturgy established in the late reign. This declaration soon fell into the hands of the council, who cited him to appear in the Star Chamber, where he was asked, if he was the author of that seditious declaration that was given out in his name.

Cranmer acknowledged it to be his; but complained that it had, contrary to his intention, stolen abroad in an imperfect condition: for his design was to review and correct it; and then, after he had put his seal to it, to fix it up at St. Paul's, and on all the church doors in London.

Contrary to his own expectations, he was dismissed after this examination, though he saw his answer had enraged the commissioners; and now his friends who foresaw this storm, advised him to consult his safety by retiring beyond sea; but he thought it would reflect a great dishonour on the cause he had espoused, if he should desert his station at such a time as this; and he chose rather to hazard his life, than give such just cause of scandal and offence, and in a few days after, he was summoned to attend the council, and was charged with high treason against the queen, which he had aggravated by dispersing seditious bills, exciting tumults, to the great disquiet of the state.

In November 1553, archbishop Cranmer was attainted by the parliament, and adjudged guilty of high treason at Guildhall. His see was hereupon declared void; and on the tenth of December, the dean and chapter of Canterbury gave com-

commissions to several persons to exercise archiepiscopal jurisdiction in their name, and by their authority. Cranmer now wrote a very submissive letter to the queen, in the most humble manner acknowledging his fault, in consenting to sign the king's will; acquainting her what pressing instances, he made to the king against it; and apologizing for himself, saying, he had been overruled by the authority of the judges and lawyers, who, he thought, understood the constitution better than him.

The queen now gave her subjects a specimen of her bigotry, ingratitude and revenge. She was under personal obligations to Cranmer, of the highest nature, who had interceded for her with her father, when he had resolved to put her to death publicly, for adhering to the cause of her mother, and refusing to submit to him after their separation. Neither the duke of Norfolk, nor Gardiner, though they were then in power would venture to plead for her, but our archbishop boldly represented to the king, that such an act would fill all Europe with horror and astonishment.

But the same prelate divorced her mother, and he was a heretic; these two crimes were thought sufficient to cancel every obligation, and therefore, with true jesuitical subtilty, she pardoned him the treason, but left him in custody, in the hands of his bitter enemies, to suffer a more cruel death, as a heretic.

In April, 1554, the archbishop was removed from the Tower to Oxford, to dispute with some select persons of both universities. At the first appearance of the archbishop in the public schools, three articles were given him to subscribe; in which the corporeal presence, by transubstantiation, was asserted, and the mass affirmed to be a pro-

propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the living and the dead. These, he declared freely, he esteemed gross untruths; and promised to give an answer concerning them in writing.

Accordingly, he drew it up; and, when he was brought again to the schools to dispute, he delivered the writing to Dr. Weston, the prolocutor. At eight in the morning the disputation began, and held till two in the afternoon: all which time, the archbishop constantly maintained the truth, with great learning and courage, against a multitude of clamorous and insolent opponents: and three days after, he was again brought forth to oppose Dr. Harpsfield, who was to respond for his degree in divinity; and here he acquitted himself so well, clearly shewing the gross absurdities, and inextricable difficulties of the doctrine of transubstantiation, that Weston himself, as great a bigot as he was, could not but dismiss him with commendation. In these disputations, with other slanderous reproaches, the archbishop was accused of corrupting and falsifying a passage which, in his book of the Sacrament, he had quoted from St. Hilary. In answer to which, he replied, that he had transcribed it verbatim from the printed book; and that Dr. Smith, one of their own divines, there present, had quoted it word for word also. But Smith made no reply, being conscious that it was true.

When the disputation was over, one Mr. Heleot remembering that he had Smith's book, went directly to his chamber in University-college; and comparing it with Cranmer's, found the quotations exactly to agree. He afterwards looked into a book of Gardiner's, called, "The Devil's Sophistry," where the same passage was cited; and both the Latin and English agreed exactly with Cranmer's

Cranmer's quotation and translation. Upon this, he resolved to carry the said books to the archbishop in prison, that he might produce them in his own vindication.

When he came thither, he was stopped and brought before Dr. Weston and his colleagues, who, upon information of his design, charged him with treason, and abetting Cranmer in his heresy; and committed him to prison. The next day, he was again brought before them; and they threatened to send him to Gardiner, to be tried for treason, unless he would subscribe to the three articles concerning which the disputations had been held. This he then refused; but, being sent for again, after the condemnation of Cranmer, through fear, he consented to it; yet not till they had assured him, that, if he sinned by so doing, they would take the guilt upon themselves, and answer for it to God: and yet even this subscription, of which he afterwards heartily repented, could not prevail for the restoring his books, lest he should shew them to their shame; nor for his entire discharge, the master of University-college being commanded to keep a strict watch over him till Gardiner's pleasure concerning him was known; and, if he heard nothing from him in a fortnight's time, then to expel him the college for his offence.

On the twentieth of April, Cranmer was brought to St. Mary's, before the queen's commissioners; and refusing to subscribe, was pronounced an heretick, and sentence of condemnation read against him as such: upon which the archbishop said, "From this your unjust judgement and sentence, I appeal to the just judgement of the Almighty, trusting to be present with him in heaven." After this, his servants were dismissed from their attendance, and he was more closely confined

confined in prison. The commissioners and a popish convocation then met, and did archbishop Cranmer the honour to order his book of the Sacrament to be burnt, in company with the English Bible and Common-Prayer-Book.

In 1555, a new commission was sent from Rome for the trial of archbishop Cranmer for heresy; the former sentence against him being void in law, because the authority of the pope was not then re-established. The commissioners were Dr. Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, the pope's delegate, Dr. Storic, and Dr. Martin, doctors of the civil law, the queen's commissioners.

On the 12th of September they met at St. Mary's church, and commanded the archbishop to be brought before them. To the queen's commissioners, as representing the supreme authority of the nation, he paid all due respect, but absolutely refused to show any to the pope's representative, lest he should seem to make the least acknowledgment of his usurped supremacy.

He was charged with blasphemy and heresy, for what he had done and written against the pope's authority; with perjury in violating his oath to the pope; and with incontinence, on account of his marriage. The archbishop defended himself with great resolution, and answered sixteen interrogatories, which were put to him; after which Brooks, in the pope's name, cited him to appear at Rome, within eighty days, there to deliver his vindication in person: an act of the most flagrant injustice, as it was out of his power to comply, if he had thought it proper, being kept a close prisoner all the time; and to add to the absurdity, as well as the cruelty of these proceedings, letters executory addressed to Philip and Mary, Bonner, bishop of London, and Thirlby, bishop of Ely, to degrade and

and deprive him, arrived in England from the pope on the 14th of December; in which letters he was declared contumacious for not appearing at Rome.

The delay in the proceedings against Cranmer have been accounted for in the life of Gardiner; and will be further noticed in the memoirs of Cardinal Pole. The mortifying ceremony of degradation was not performed till the fourteenth of February 1556, when the archbishop being brought before Bonner and Thirlby; after they had read their commission from the pope, Bonner, in a scurrilous oration, insulted over him in a most unchristian manner; for which he was often rebuked by Thirlby.

When Bonner had finished his invective against him, they proceeded to degrade him; and, that they might make him as ridiculous as possible, the episcopal habit they put on him was made of canvas. Then the archbishop, pulling out of his sleeve a written appeal, delivered it to them, saying, "I appeal to the next general council."

When they had degraded him, they put on him an old thread-bare gown, and a townsman's coat; and in that garb delivered him over to the secular power. As they were leading him to prison, a gentleman came and gave some money to the bailiffs for the archbishop: but this charitable action gave such offence to Bonner, that he ordered the gentleman to be seized; and, had he not found great friends to intercede for him, would have sent him up to the council to be tried for it.

While the archbishop continued in prison, no endeavours were omitted to bring him over to the church of Rome. Many of the most eminent divines in the university resorted to him daily, hoping, by arguments and persuasions, to prevail, but in vain; at length his enemies finding that
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neither threats, nor fallacious arguments could shake the fortitude of his soul, fell upon a stratagem which proved fatal to his reputation; they removed him from prison to the lodgings of the dean of Christ-church; they treated him with the greatest civility and respect, made him large promises of the queen's favour, and the restitution of his former dignities if he would only set his name to a paper.

He resisted their importunities for some time, but by continual representations of the difference between the prospect of living many years honoured and esteemed, and the horrors of voluntarily putting a period to his days, by the terrible death of fire, human frailty gave way to the temptation, and in an unguarded moment, he signed a renunciation of the protestant, and an acknowledgment of his belief of the Romish religion, in the most ample terms, declaring himself sorry for his past errors, exhorting all whom he had misled, to return to the Romish faith, and protesting that he had signed the paper willingly, and solely for the acquittal of his conscience.

When the popish party had obtained this triumph over the unfortunate archbishop, they caused his recantation to be printed and dispersed with all expedition; and now the mean, base perfidy and treachery of his persecutors manifested itself in the blackest colours. Even the queen, whose honour was concerned, that the promises made in her name should not be violated, was the first to declare, that his recanting must not serve his turn, though it would be sufficient in all other cases. It was, indeed good (she said) for his soul, that he had repented; and might do good to others; but yet the sentence must be executed. So true is the charge universally brought against the papists, that they keep no faith with heretics.

The warrant for the archbishop's execution was accordingly sent down to Oxford, but he was kept in profound ignorance of this fatal mandate, from their apprehension that he would retract the recantation drawn from him, by their infamous delusions.

Dr. Cole, provost of Eton, was likewise appointed to preach a sermon at the stake, and the day before the execution, he visited the archbishop in prison, to exhort him to remain stedfast in the faith, to which he had subscribed, but he made no mention of his approaching death.

On the 21st of March 1556, the day appointed for this authorised murder, several members of the council, and other persons of rank, who had been sent to Oxford by the court, to prevent any tumult, which might happen upon the occasion, assembled early in the morning, which proving rainy, it was agreed, that the sermon intended to have been preached at the stake, should be preached at St. Mary's church, and accordingly, the archbishop was brought there by the mayor, accompanied by lord Williams and other courtiers; and placed on a low scaffold opposite the pulpit.

Then Dr. Cole began his sermon; the chief scope whereof was, to endeavour to give some reasons why it was expedient that Cranmer should suffer, notwithstanding his recantation: and, in the close, he addressed himself particularly to the archbishop, exhorting him to bear up with courage against the terrors of death; and, by the example of the thief on the cross, encouraged him not to despair, since he was returned, though late, into the bosom of the catholic church, and to the profession of the true apostolical faith.

The archbishop, who, till now, had not the least notice of his intended execution, was struck with horror at the base treachery and unparalleled cruelty

cruelty of their proceedings. During the whole sermon he wept incessantly : sometimes lifting up his eyes to Heaven, sometimes casting them down to the ground, with marks of the utmost dejection.

When it was over, Cole desired him to make an open declaration of his faith, as he had promised, upon which he knelt down and prayed in the most fervent manner ; then rising, he exhorted the people not to set their minds upon the world ; to obey the queen ; to live in mutual love ; to avoid covetousness ; and to be charitable to the poor. Then he repeated the Apostle's Creed, and professed his belief thereof, and of all things contained in the Old and New Testament : after which he declared his great and unfeigned repentance, for having, contrary to his faith, subscribed the popish doctrines ; lamented it with many tears ; and declared, that the hand, which had so offended, should be burnt before the rest of his body. Then he renounced the pope, in the most express terms ; and professed his belief concerning the Eucharist, to be the same with that he had asserted, in his book against Gardiner.

This was a mortifying disappointment to the papists ; they made loud clamours, and charged him with hypocrisy and falshood. To which he meekly replied, That he was a plain man, and never acted the hypocrite but when he was seduced by them to a recantation.—He would have proceeded, but Dr. Cole cried out from the pulpit, " Stop the heretic's mouth, and take him away." Upon which, they pulled him down with violence, and hurried him to the place of execution, the same where Latimer and Ridley had suffered the year before. He approached it with a chearful countenance ; and, notwithstanding the earnest solicitations of many of the papists, continued still

to declare his utter abhorrence of the popish errors, and hearty repentance for having recanted.

After this, he kneeled down and prayed; and then, having undressed himself, and taken leave of his friends, he was bound to the stake. As soon as the fire was kindled, he stretched forth his right arm, and held it, stedfastly and without shrinking, in the flame (only once he wiped his face with it) till it was quite consumed, which was some time before the fire reached his body, but he did not express any great sensation of pain. He often cried out, "This unworthy hand! this unworthy hand;" and, lifting up his eyes to heaven, expired, repeating the dying words of St. Stephen, "Lord Jesus receive my spirit!"

His character may be best traced, in the general tenour of his public conduct, but his lenity when in power, to those who opposed the reformation, and his patronage of learned men (especially foreign protestants) ought to be mentioned apart, as they reflect the highest honour on his memory, the latter having greatly contributed to the final establishment of the protestant religion in this country. His endeavours to save the lives of Fisher and Sir Thomas More, and to prevent the attainder of Tonsil bishop of Durham, should have induced the popish party to have spared him, if they had been capable of gratitude.

His hospitality, his benevolence to the poor, and his kindness to his servants, distinguished his private life, and his works in print and manuscript, shew him to have been a man of extensive learning, and an excellent theologist.

* * *Authorities.* Fox. Memorials of Cranmer, by Strype, edit. 1694. Burnet.

The LIFE of

CARDINAL POLE.

(Including memoirs of EDMUND BONNER, Bishop
of LONDON.)

[A. D. 1500. to 1558.]

REGINALD POLE, was descended from royal blood, being a younger son of Sir Richard Pole, lord Montague, knight of the garter, and cousin-german to Henry VII. by Margaret, his wife, daughter of George, duke of Clarence, younger brother to king Edward IV. He was born at Stoverton Castle, in Staffordshire, in the year 1500; and, at about the age of twelve, was sent to Magdalen college, in Oxford, where an apartment was provided for him in the president's lodgings. The famous Linacre, and William Latimer, two of the greatest masters of those times, in the Greek and Latin tongues, were our young nobleman's principal preceptors; and he made a considerable progress in his studies under them.

In 1517, he was made prebendary of Roscomb, in the church of Salisbury; to which the deanry of Exeter and other valuable preferments, were added about two years after. But he did not take any orders, as most writers have asserted.

He was now nineteen years of age, and, having laid the foundation of learning at Oxford, it was determined, to send him, for further improvement, to Italy, where the liberal arts and sciences then flourished; and for this purpose, an establishment suitable to his rank was provided by the king, who allowed him a liberal yearly pension, besides the income of his ecclesiastical preferments.

He was therefore accompanied to Italy by several learned Englishmen, besides a proper retinue of attendance, and after visiting several other universities, he settled at Padua; and his house soon became the resort of the most eminent literati of the age, with some of whom he formed an intimacy which lasted for life. Of these, the most distinguished by him were, Bembo, Sadolet, Longolius, and Thomas Lupset, a learned Englishman, whom he took into his family, and by his recommendation, Erasmus opened a correspondence with our young student, which produced a friendly intercourse between them. As to the professors, knowing how nearly he was related to the king of England, they strenuously exerted themselves to complete his education, and as they likewise partook of his noble liberality, they were not sparing of the most flattering encomiums of his genius and accomplishments, taking care to publish that their pupil was an honour to them, and an ornament to the university. From Padua he went to Venice, where he continued for some time, and then visited some other parts of Italy.

Having spent five years abroad, he was recalled home; but being very desirous to see the jubilee, which was celebrated at Rome in 1525, he took a tour to that city; from whence passing by Florence, he returned to England, before the expiration of the year; and was received with great affection

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tion and honour, by the court, and the nobility. But devotion and study being his sole delight; he retired to the convent of the Carthusians at Shene, where he had received the first rudiments of education, having obtained a grant from the king of the apartment which the late Dr. Colet had built for his own use.

He had passed two years with great pleasure in this retirement, when king Henry VIII. began to start his scruples about the lawfulness of his marriage with queen Catherine. Pole, foreseeing the troubles which this incident must occasion, and that he should not escape being involved in them if he stayed in the kingdom, resolved to withdraw; and obtained his majesty's leave to go to Paris in 1529. Here, carrying some learned persons in his train, he passed his time in literary ease, till the king, prosecuting the affair of the divorce, and sending to the most celebrated universities in Europe for their opinion on his case, commanded him to assist his agents in procuring the subscription and seal of the university of Paris, to the illegality of the marriage.

Pole, being of the contrary opinion, as it appeared afterwards, excused himself to the king in his letters, by saying, that his studies had lain another way. But Henry was so much displeased, that, when his kinsman returned home, not long after, he was advised, by all means, to clear himself of all disloyalty, and appease his majesty's anger: and, having averted the storm for the present, by his submission, he retired to his former solitude at Shene.

About two years after this, the measure was secretly resolved upon of deciding the king's cause independent of the Pope, and as Pole was universally esteemed for his learning and piety, and was besides of the royal blood; it was observed, that

his consent would be of great service as an example to others. Accordingly, no means were left untried to win him over, even the Archbishopric of York, at this time vacant, was offered him; and, being irresistibly pressed on every side, he yielded, and repaired to the king, with a design to give him satisfaction: but his conscience checking him the moment he was about to speak, he was not able to utter a word, for some time, but being recovered, he quitted his former purpose, and spoke his sentiments freely against the divorce, which being quite unexpected and displeasing, exasperated the king to such a degree, that with a countenance full of anger, he put his hand to his dagger, but recollecting himself, he only said, "I will consider of your opinion, and you shall have my answer, but he never sent for him more."

Pole, however, being apprehensive that further danger would inevitably accrue to him, if he continued in England, obtained permission once more, to go abroad: and his majesty was so far satisfied at present, that he continued his pension for some time.

The first place Pole went to was, Avignon, in France. This town was under the pope's jurisdiction, and here he continued unmolested for the space of a year; but finding the air did not agree with his constitution, he left it, and went to Padua. In this favourite university he fixed his residence the second time, making excursions now and then to Venice.

Pole had been a considerable time abroad, and Henry had frequently intimated his desire that he would return home; but he made sundry excuses, and at last wrote to the king, that he neither approved of his divorce, nor his separation from the holy see, both of which had now taken place. The king in return, sent him over a book written in England, by Dr. Sampson, in support of his

own supremacy, and required his opinion in answer to it. Upon this, Pole wrote his famous sophistical treatise, intituled, *De unitate Ecclesiastica*, and sent it over to the king. In this book, he condemned the king's actions; depressed the royal and exalted the papal authority; compared the king to Nebuchadnezzar, and concluded with an address to the Emperor, conjuring him to turn his arms rather against the king, than the Turk.

Henry concealed his resentment, and wrote to him, requiring him, all excuses apart, to return immediately to England, that he might confer with him on the subject of his book and his letters, which required further explanation; but this angel of peace, as he is styled by Phillips (a modern popish writer of his life) had no inclination it seems, to die a martyr in the pope's cause, and therefore, taking warning by the fate of More and Fisher, he wisely, and peremptorily refused, upon which the king withdrew his pensions, and deprived him of his preferments in England, and not long after, an act of attainder passed against him.

The attachment constantly shewn by Pole, to the papal interest, and his present misfortunes consequent thereupon, made it expedient, that the Roman Pontiff should publicly testify his approbation of his conduct, by some signal honour; accordingly he was summoned to Rome, as the representative of England, in a general council, to be held for the reformation of abuses, not in the doctrine, for that they held sacred and incapable of error, but in the administration of the affairs of the church. He arrived at Rome in 1536, where he was lodged in the Pope's palace, and treated with great respect. His holiness immediately proposed to make him a Cardinal, but Pole, who had much higher temporal preferment

in view, no less than the crown of England, by marrying the princess Mary; remonstrated against this promotion, and the pope seemed to acquiesce, but the next day, he insisted on his obedience, and Pole, who was not yet in holy orders, nor had received even the clerical tonsure, submitted to this ceremony, says Beccatelli, who was present, "with as much reluctance as the lamb to the sheering knife." After which, he was created Cardinal deacon of St. Nereus and Achilleus. His holiness then appointed him Nuncio to the courts of France, and Flanders, that he might be the better enabled from the vicinity of his residence, to correspond with the Roman catholics in England, and keep up the declining interests of the papacy in this country.

At Paris, he was received by the king very honourably, but did not stay long there; for Henry, being informed of it, sent to demand him of the French monarch; which being notified to him by that prince, he removed to Cambray, and put himself under the protection of the bishop. But this was no place of safety for him, on account of the war between France and the Empire, in which Henry was engaged; so that the English soldiers were continually harassing those parts. The Nuncio was therefore obliged to quit it, with precipitation, for as a price had been set upon his head, he was exposed to imminent danger, if he fell into their hands. He chose Liege for his next residence, in consequence of an invitation from Erardas the cardinal bishop, who received him with brotherly kindness. He continued at Liege about three months, expecting that the Emperor and the king of France, would fulfil their engagements with him, by doing their utmost to foment the disturbances raised by the rebellious Roman

Roman catholics in England; but this project failing, he was recalled to Rome.

Pole, while he was employed in holding correspondence with Henry's rebellious subjects, and while he was abusing him in the most scurrilous manner in his publications, complained in his letters to the pope, and to the French Nuncio, of the ignominious treatment, he had met with from the king of England, who had proclaimed him a traitor and set a price upon his head: and though he owned his treasonable designs against Henry in the same letters, he had the duplicity to write to Lord Cromwell, about the same time, to clear himself from the imputation of disloyalty. Another contradiction to the character given of him by Phillips, who makes his piety and sincerity his chief virtues.

At the close of the year 1538, his holiness imagining, that the bulls of excommunication and deposition he had published against Henry, would make his subjects better disposed to break out into another rebellion, dispatched the cardinal a second time, in disguise, to France and Flanders, upon the same pious business. But this scheme being counterworked by Henry, the cardinal met with a cool reception from his Imperial majesty; whereupon he returned by the same road to Avignon, where he acquainted the pope with his ill success; and, receiving a letter from his holiness to continue in those parts, he took this opportunity of making a visit at Carpentras to his acquaintance and beloved friend cardinal Jacob Sadolet; with whom he spent six months, and then came to Verona, where he staid some time with Gilbert, bishop of that see: after this, he was appointed legate to Viterbo, near Rome, in which station he continued till 1542, when the pope, having called the council of Trent, appointed him, together with
cardinal

cardinal Paris, and cardinal John Morone, his three legates; but, as the council could not then assemble, on account of the wars which arose in Germany, and other Christian states, Pole returned to Viterbo. Between this place and Rome he passed his time, following his studies in great repose and tranquillity, till 1545, when the pope issued a second citation for holding the council at the same place, and appointed Pole again, but with two different cardinals, his legates. Pole's colleagues arrived at Trent long before him, for his journey was delayed, upon the pretext that Henry had employed his emissaries to seize him on the road: at this time, he wrote a treatise on the nature and end of general councils, and at length, he repaired to Trent, escorted through those parts, where danger was apprehended, by a detachment of the pope's cavalry.

To account for the cardinal's just fears, it is necessary to mention, that his mother Margaret, countess of Salisbury, his eldest brother Henry Pole, lord Montague, the marquiss of Exeter, Sir Edward Nevil, and Sir Nicholas Carew, had been condemned and executed in England for high treason, in conspiring to raise the cardinal to the throne. And though they were taken off, the design, Henry remaining under the pope's interdict, was not dropped at this time. The transactions of this council, called by lord Bolingbroke, "a solemn banter;" may be passed over, being of little import to protestant readers, and as the cardinal was obliged to retire to Padua, on account of his bad state of health, we shall only observe, that it was removed to Bononia, after an opposition from the Imperial ambassador, upon which occasion, Pole invariably attached to the holy see, defended the pope's right to remove it, in the year 1546.

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The next account we have of him, worth relating is, an extraordinary instance of his zealous audacity. Soon after Henry's death, he wrote a letter to the regency and council, advising them to reconcile the kingdom to the pope, and assured them, that if his advice was not followed, the kingdom would be exposed to imminent dangers, and added, that the pope was willing, in charity to their souls, to send him over, to remedy their evils. He likewise addressed a written justification of himself to Edward VI. But the council disregarding both his solicitations and his menaces, he gave the kingdom no further trouble in this reign.

Pope Paul III. dying in 1549, our cardinal was twice elected to succeed him, but refused both the elections, one as being too hasty, and without deliberation; and the other, because it was done in the middle of the night. This conduct has been ascribed by Phillips and others, to delicacy, but the true motive was his distant view of the crown of England, to the possession of which no bar arose in his opinion, from an heretical prince being seated on the throne, provided he could marry the princess Mary. Julius III. being chosen upon his refusal, and the tranquillity of Rome being soon after much disturbed by the wars in France, and on the borders of Italy, Pole retired, with the pope's leave, to a monastery of the Benedictines at Maguzano, in the territory of Verona.

In this retirement he continued till the death of Edward VI. but on the accession of queen Mary, it was determined by the court of Rome, that Pole should be sent legate into England, as the fittest instrument, on all accounts, to effect the reduction of the kingdom to the obedience of the pope. The undertaking, however, required some consideration. The act of attainder, which had passed against him under Henry VIII. had been confirmed

ed by Edward, and consequently remained still in force. Our legate therefore, did not think it safe to venture his person in England, till he understood the true state of things there. However, it was not long before he received full satisfaction upon all these points, and accordingly he set out for England, by the way of Germany, in the month of October 1553; but he had not proceeded far in the emperor's dominions, when a message came to him from that prince, to put a stop to his farther progress at present. This was soon followed by an express from queen Mary to the same purpose, who, to keep him in good humour, sent him the two acts that had passed, for the justification of her mother's marriage, and for bringing all things back to the state they were in at her father's death, desiring him likewise to send her a list of such persons as should be made bishops.

The cardinal being satisfied, that the true cause of this delay was to prevent his arrival in England before the queen's marriage to Philip should be completed, was not a little nettled at it, and wrote a letter to her majesty, wherein he said, he knew this stop to his journey proceeded from the political views of the emperor; that he had spoke to the emperor's confessor about it, and had convinced him of the impropriety of such courses, and set him to work on his master. He also told the queen he was afraid carnal pleasures might govern her too much, and that she might thereby fall from her simplicity in Christ, wherein she had hitherto lived: he encouraged her therefore to put on a spirit of wisdom and courage, and to trust in God, who had preserved her so long. With regard to the acts, he found fault that no mention was made in the first, of the pope's bulls, by the authority of which, only, it could be a lawful marriage; and he did not like, that in the other act, the worship
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of God, and the sacraments, were to be as they were in the last year of her father's reign, for then they were in a state of schism, that the pope's interdict still lay on the nation, and till that were taken off, none could, without sin, either administer or receive them. He confessed he knew none of either house fit to propose the matter of rejecting the supremacy, which had been usurped by her father, and her brother, and therefore he thought it best for herself to go to the parliament, having before-hand acquainted some few, both of the spirituality and temporality, with her design, and tell the house, she was touched with the schism, and desired a legate to come over from the apostolic see, to treat about it; and should thereupon propose the reversion of his attainder.

But the queen's marriage with Philip, meeting with great opposition in England, it was resolved that the legate should be kept at a distance. With this view, another legation was contrived for him, to mediate a peace between the empire and France, in which he was unsuccessful. In the mean time, the marriage between Philip and Mary being solemnized, no further opposition was made to the legate's journey; and therefore, the lords Paget and Hastings were sent to Brussels to conduct him to England. He arrived at Dover on the 20th of November 1554, where he was received by the bishop of Ely, lord Montague, and other persons of distinction; he then proceeded by land to Gravesend, where he was met by the bishop of Durham, and the earl of Shrewsbury, who, presenting him with the repeal of the act of his attainder, that had passed the day before, he went on board a yacht, which conveyed him to Whitehall, where he was received with the utmost veneration by their majesties; and after all possible honour and respect paid to him at court, he was conducted

conducted to the archbishop's palace at Lambeth, the destined place of his residence, which had been sumptuously fitted up for his reception.

On the 27th, he went to the parliament, and made a long and grave speech, inviting them to a reconciliation with the apostolic see, from whence, he said, he was sent by the common pastor of Christendom to recover them, who had long strayed from the inclosure of the church. This speech produced, a pretended miracle, on the part of the queen, who affected to be not only pregnant, but that the joy she felt upon the occasion had made the child leap within her : and upon this declaration, *Te Deum* was ordered to be sung in all the churches in London ; and Bonner caused prayers to be put up, that the child might be a male, well favoured, vigorous and witty. No further proof can be wanting, of the wretched bigotry of Mary, who thus set an example in her own person, for restoring the old fraudulent tricks of the popish priests, ever ready to forge miracles, in aid of their delusions.

On the 29th, the speaker reported to the commons the substance of this speech ; and a message coming from the lords for a conference, in order to prepare a supplication, to be reconciled to the see of Rome, it was consented to, and the petition being agreed on, was reported and approved by both houses ; so that being presented by them on their knees to the king and queen, these made their intercession with the cardinal, who, thereupon delivered himself, in a long speech, at the end of which, he granted them absolution. This done, they all went to the royal chapel, where *Te Deum* was sung on the occasion. Thus the pope's authority being now restored, the cardinal, two days afterwards, made his public entry into London, with all the solemnities of a legate, and presently

sently set about the business of purging the church, of pretended heresy. But though these proceedings gave great satisfaction to the court, the cardinal had the mortification to find they were detested by the citizens of London, for when he made his public entry, in passing through the city, no sort of respect was shewn to him, and his blessing the people as he passed, was openly laughed at. This probably soured his temper, which it is pretended was naturally mild and amiable; it has likewise been asserted, that he advised moderate measures with respect to the protestants; but it is an indubitable fact, that one of the first acts of his legantine authority was, to grant commissions for the prosecution of heretics; and he openly expressed his detestation of the reformed, refusing to converse with any who had been of that party; indeed he now put on the pride and reserve of a Spanish inquisitor; to this we must add, that the instructions he sent to the bishops and clergy, concerning the protestants, plainly shew, that he was at the bottom of the sanguinary proceedings of Gardiner and Bonner, though he made them the instruments of his cruelty and revenge.

In the mean time, the queen dispatched ambassadors to Rome, to make obedience, in the name of the whole kingdom to the pope; who had already proclaimed a jubilee on that occasion. But these messengers had scarce set foot on Italian ground, when they were informed of the death of Julius III. and the election of Marcellus II. his successor: but this pontiff dying soon after, the queen, upon the first news of it, recommended her kinsman to the popedom; and dispatches were accordingly sent to Rome for the purpose, but they came too late: Peter Caraffa, who took the name of Paul IV. being elected before their arrival.

rival. This pope, who had never liked our cardinal, was better pleased with the bishop of Winchester, whose temper exactly tallied with his own. In this disposition he favoured Gardiner's views upon the see of Canterbury.

The cardinal however, had now the sole management of ecclesiastical affairs; and from this time, (so much do we differ from Phillips) it is demonstrable, from the most authentic records, that the persecution became more violent, and the executions more frequent; in proof of which, let it be remembered, that Gardiner, who secretly detested Pole, turned over the bloody business to Bonner soon after the cardinal's arrival; and that in three months after Gardiner's death, Cranmer was degraded and burnt, to make room for the cardinal, in the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, after he had lost all hopes of the papal chair. Pole was made archbishop of Canterbury the day after Cranmer's execution; and before the end of the same year, 1556, he was made chancellor of Oxford and Cambridge. The hottest period of Bonner's fiery persecution was from December 1555 to December 1556; when the cardinal was in the zenith of his power; for it declined soon after, from causes, which shall be mentioned after we have given some account of the infamous executioner of the tyranny of Mary, under her angel of peace, the cardinal legate.

Bonner was the reputed son of a lawyer in Cheshire, but his mother was pregnant by one Savage, a priest, and married the lawyer to conceal her disgrace. Being designed for the church, he studied at Broadgate-hall, now Pembroke College, and was made doctor of the canon law in 1525: but was never distinguished for his learning, having rather a turn for state affairs. This recommended him to Wolfey, and after
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his death to king Henry, by means of Cromwell, on whom he imposed himself as a friend to the reformation. Henry wanting an ambassador, who could talk in a menacing style to the pope and the king of France, pitched upon Bonner, whose brutal ferocity seemed suited to the occasion; but he so far exceeded the bounds of common decency at Marseilles, when he delivered the king's appeal, that the pope, threatned to throw him into a cauldron of melted lead, or to burn him alive, upon which he made his escape. And soon after, behaving with great insolence to Francis I. the French monarch, bade him write to his master, "That his ambassador was a great fool, and that if it were not for the love of his master, he should have an hundred strokes with an halbert." He was recalled, but Henry finding him a pliant tool for every occasion, made him first bishop of Hereford, and then of London in 1539, when the bloody articles were to be enforced. And now the pretended protestant (Cromwel being taken off,) shewed himself in his true colours; his cruelties continuing till the accession of Edward, when he openly complied with the injunctions respecting the reformation, and at the same time secretly opposed it, and fomented the insurrections of the papists. He was therefore deprived, and committed to the Marshalsea, till queen Mary released him, and restored him to his former dignity in 1553. From this time, as his power increased, so did his inhumanity, which was exercised in the most shocking acts of cruelty, having a dungeon and instruments of torture in his own house; and he took an infernal pleasure in punishing the unfortunate people in his custody, with his own hands. Such was the character of the man, who acted as chief commissioner under the cardinal, to whom we will now return.

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The year 1557, was opened with a ridiculous farce, added to the tragedy, that was acting in all parts of the kingdom. At Oxford, the body of Peter Martyr's wife was taken up, and underwent a process, but being a foreigner, who understood not English, no witnesses could be brought to prove her a heretic, therefore, the body by the cardinal's order was buried again in a dunghill. At Cambridge, the bodies of Bucer and Fagius being buried in St. Mary's and St. Michael's churches, they were put under an interdict, and no service could be performed in them; after which a formal process was commenced against the deceased heretics: they were cited to appear, or any persons for them; but after three citations the dead not arising to defend themselves, nor any of the living appearing to plead for them, (for fear of being sent after them) witnesses were examined against them, and they were condemned as obstinate heretics; the bodies being ordered to be dug up, and delivered to the secular power. After this, an account was sent of the proceedings to London, and a writ was sent down to the sheriffs, in consequence of which, the bodies were carried in their coffins, tied to the stake and burnt, with copies of their books.

But though the cardinal thus countenanced every absurd and cruel measure to enforce the Romish faith, Paul IV. openly shewed his aversion to him, by revoking his legantine power, which he conferred this year on Peyto, a Franciscan friar; whom he had sent for to Rome, and made a cardinal for the purpose, designing him also for the see of Salisbury. This appointment was made in September, and the new legate was actually on the road for England, when the bulls came to queen Mary; who, having been informed of their contents by her ambassador, laid them up without opening

opening them, or acquainting her cousin with the matter, in whose behalf she wrote to the pope, and assuming some of her father's spirit, she wrote to Peyto, forbidding him to proceed on his journey, and charging him on his peril, not to set foot on English ground.

But notwithstanding all her caution to conceal the matter from the cardinal, it was not possible to keep it long a secret, and he no sooner became acquainted with the holy father's pleasure, than out of that implicit veneration, which he constantly and unalterably preserved for the apostolic see, he voluntarily laid down the ensigns of his legantine power, and forbore the exercise of it; dispatching his trusty minister Ormaneto to Rome, with letters, wherein he cleared himself in such submissive terms, as it is said even mollified and melted the obdurate heart of Paul. The truth is, the pontiff was brought into a better temper by some late events, which turned his regard from the French toward the Spaniards, and the storm against Pole blew over entirely, by a peace that was concluded this year, between his holiness and Philip; in one of the secret articles of which, it was stipulated, that our cardinal should be restored to his legantine powers. But he did not live to enjoy the restoration full twelve months, being seized with a double quartan ague, which carried him off the stage of life, early in the morning of the eighteenth of November 1558.

His death is said to have been hastened by that of his royal mistress and kinswoman, queen Mary; which happened about sixteen hours before, in the 43d year of her age, and 6th of her reign. His body being put into a leaden coffin, laid forty days in great state, at Lambeth; after which, it was conveyed thence with as great funeral pomp to Canterbury, and interred with solemnity on the
north

north side of Thomas a'Becket's chapel, in that cathedral. Over his grave there was erected a tomb, on which were inscribed only these three words, as sufficient to his fame, *Depositum Cardinalis Poli.*

Thus was England happily delivered from papal tyranny, and the disgraceful administration of a weak woman, who was fitter for a cloyster than a throne. It is said, however, that she felt some compunction, for the loss of Calais, which fell into the hands of the French the year she died, after it had been in the possession of the English above 200 years; owing to the neglect of her ministry, wholly employed in the arduous business of prosecuting heretics: but this event was not the true cause of that deep melancholy which carried her to the grave. It was occasioned by the desertion of Philip, who treated her unkindly, and upon his father's resignation of the Spanish crown to him, left her abruptly.

The cardinal's character has been so variously stated by different writers, that it is a hard task to ascertain the exact truth at this distance, it may be therefore thought more discreet to refer the critical reader to different authorities, distinguishing the Roman from the protestant writers by the letters R. and P.

* * *Authorities.* Life of Pole, by Ludovico Beccatelli, (his secretary) R. translated by Pye, with notes, London 1766. Thuanus R. Burnet's hist. of the reformation, P. Life of Pole, by T. Philips, R. Review of Philips, by the Revd. Gloucester Ridley, P. Animadversions on Philips, by Dr. Neve, P. British biography, vol. II. 1766. P.

MEMOIRS of
SEBASTIAN CABOT
 Discoverer of NEWFOUNDLAND.

[A. D. 1477, to 1557.]

IN a maritime country, we know of no class of subjects, who more justly claim the grateful remembrance of posterity, than able seamen, whether considered in the light of skilful navigators, or as brave defenders of the national rights and private property of their country, on the perilous ocean

For this reason, having brought down the civil and ecclesiastical history of England to the period which concludes this volume, we cannot close it with greater propriety, than by giving concise memoirs, (for regular life we have none) of Sebastian Cabot, the cotemporary and rival in the book of fame, of Vesputius Americanus, between whom and our English navigator, the first discovery of North America is contested.

SEBASTIAN, was the son of John Cabot, an eminent Venetian navigator, who came to England in the reign of Edward IV. and being pleased with the country, settled at Bristol; and when the
 news

news arrived in England, of the discoveries made by Columbus in South America, which tended to enrich Spain, Henry VII. from his natural cupidity, rather than from any laudable motive, resolved to send some of his subjects upon an expedition to make similar discoveries, and upon this occasion John Cabot was recommended to the king, as an able, enterprising seaman, and one who excelled all others in his profession, which had been originally that of a pilot. Accordingly, the king gave him a commission in 1496, for the discovery of unknown lands, but more particularly of a north-west passage to the East Indies.

Young Cabot, it is imagined, was born at Bristol about the year 1477, and being brought up to the sea, had made several short voyages, and being properly qualified, he, and his two brothers Lewis and Sancho, were joined in the commission given to the father, in case of his death, and it was expressly commanded, that they should return to the port of Bristol.

They had likewise the royal licence to take up six ships in any haven of the realm, and as many mariners as they could procure. In consequence of this permission, one large ship was equipped at Bristol, at the king's expence and the merchants of London and Bristol, added three or four small vessels.

With these, John Cabot, and his son Sebastian only, set sail in the spring of 1497, and successfully kept on a north-west course, where, on the 24th of June they discovered land, which they therefore called *Prima Vista*, and the island which lies out to sea, before the main land, they called St. John's, because they discovered it on the festival of that saint. They afterwards called the whole coast, the Island of *Baccalaos*, being the name

name given by the natives to a fish found along it in great abundance, since named Cod; and in after times, the place took the name of Newfoundland, which it still bears.

John Cabot and his son took possession of this land, in the name of the king of England, after which they sailed down to Cape Florida, and then returned to England with a valuable cargo, and three of the natives, who were cloathed in skins, eat raw flesh, and uttered an unintelligible speech, not like any human language. All we know more concerning the father is, that he had the honour of knighthood conferred on him. There is likewise a chasm of near twenty years in the life of Sebastian, but from the writings of foreigners it may be collected, that after his father's death, he made other voyages to complete the settlement of Newfoundland, and these might give rise to the mistake of attributing the first expedition to him; an error we frequently meet with in the imperfect annals of these times.

If this worthy man had performed nothing more, his name ought surely to be transmitted to future times with honour; since it clearly appears, that Newfoundland hath been a source of riches and naval power to this nation, from the time it was discovered, and as it was the first of our plantations, with strict justice, it may be said of Sebastian Cabot, that he was the author of our maritime strength, and opened the way to those improvements which since have rendered us such a powerful maritime and commercial nation.

The next transaction in which he was concerned, occurred in the eighth of king Henry VIII. and our accounts of it are rather obscure. It appears however, that Cabot had entered into a strict correspondence with Sir Thomas Pert, at this time vice-admiral of England, who had a house at
O Poplar,

Poplar, and who procured him a good ship of the king's, in order to make more discoveries: but it looks as if he had now changed his route, and intended to have passed by the South to the East-Indies; for he sailed first to Brazil, and, missing there of his purpose, shaped his course for the islands of Hispaniola and Porto Rico, where he carried on some traffic; and then returned, failing absolutely in the design upon which he went; not through any want either of courage or conduct in himself, but from the fear and faint-heartedness of Sir Thomas Pert, and the want of manly courage in the people at this time; of which we have abundant testimony from the writings of Hakluyt, who was then living. -

This disappointment, in all probability, inclined Sebastian Cabot to leave England, and to go over to Spain; where he was treated with very great respect, being declared pilot-major, or chief-pilot of Spain; and by his office intrusted with the reviewing all projects for discoveries; which, in those days, were many and important.

His great capacity, and approved integrity, induced many rich merchants to treat with him, in the year 1524, about a voyage to be undertaken, at their expence, by the new-found passage of Magellan, (discovered by Ferdinand Magellan, 1520) to the Moluccas; which, at length he accepted; and of which we have the following account by Herrera the Spanish historian.

“ He sailed about the beginning of April, 1525,
 “ first to the Canaries, then to the islands of Cape
 “ Verde, thence to Cape Augustin and the island
 “ of Patos, or Geese; and near Bahia de Todos
 “ Los Santos, or the Bay of All Saints, he met a
 “ French ship. He was said to have managed but
 “ indiscreetly, being in want of provisions when
 “ he came to the island; but there the In-
 “ dians

“dians were very kind, and supplied him with provisions for all his ships; but he requited them very indifferently, carrying away with him, by force, four sons of the principal men.

“Thence he proceeded to the River of Plate, having left ashore, on a desert island, Martin Mendez, his vice-admiral, captain Francis de Rojas, and Michael de Rodus, because they censured his management; and, in conclusion, he went not to the Spice-islands; as well because he had not provisions, as that the men would not sail under him, fearing his conduct of the vessel in the Streights.

“He sailed up the river of Plate, and above thirty leagues above the mouth, found an island which he called S. Gabriel, about a league in compass, and half a league from the continent towards Brazil. There he anchored, and rowing with the boats three leagues higher, discovered a river he called San Salvador, or St. Saviour, very deep, and a safe harbour for the ships on the same side; whither he brought up his vessels and unloaded them, because at the mouth of the river there was not much water.

“Having built a fort, and left some men in it, he resolved to proceed up that river with boats and a flat-bottom caravel, in order to make discoveries, thinking that, although he did not pass through the Streights to the Spice-islands, his voyage would not be altogether fruitless.

“Having advanced thirty leagues, he came to a river called Zacarana; and finding the natives thereabouts a good rational people, he erected another fort, calling it Santi Spiritus, i. e. of the Holy Ghost; but his people called

“ it Cabot’s Fort. He thence discovered the shore
“ of the river Parana, which is that called Plate,
“ where he found many islands and rivers; and
“ keeping along the greatest stream, at the end of
“ two hundred leagues came up to another river,
“ which the Indians call Paraguay, and left the
“ great river on the right, thinking it bent to-
“ wards the coast of Brazil; and running up
“ thirty-four leagues, found people tilling the
“ ground: a thing which, in those parts, he had
“ not seen before. There he met with so much
“ opposition, that he advanced no farther, but
“ killed many Indians, and they slew twenty-five
“ of his Spaniards, and took three that were gone
“ to gather palmetos to eat.

“ While Cabot was thus employed, James
“ Garcia was sent from Galicia, with one ship, a
“ small tender and a brigantine, to make discove-
“ ries in the river of Plate, without knowing that
“ the other was there before him. He entered
“ the said river about the beginning of the year
“ 1527, having sent away his own, which was a
“ large ship, alledging that it was of too great a
“ burthen for that discovery; and, with the rest,
“ came to an anchor in the same place where Ca-
“ bot’s ship lay, then directing his course, with two
“ brigantines and sixty men, towards the river
“ Parana, which lies north and north-west, he ar-
“ rived at the fort built by Cabot. About one
“ hundred and ten leagues above this fort, he
“ found Sebastian Cabot himself in the port of
“ St. Anne; so named by the latter; and, after a
“ short stay there, they returned together to the
“ fort of the Holy Ghost; and from thence sent
“ messengers into Spain.”

Those who were dispatched by Sebastian Cabot
were, Francis Calderon and George Barlow, who
gave a very fair account of the fine countries bor-
dering

dering on the river La Plata, shewing how large a tract of land he had not only discovered, but subdued, and producing gold, silver, and other rich commodities, as evidences in favour of their commander's conduct. The requisitions they made in his name were, that a supply should be sent of provisions, ammunition, goods proper to carry on a trade, and a competent recruit of seamen and soldiers. To this the merchants, by whom Cabot's Squadron was fitted out, would not agree, but chose to resign their rights to the crown of Castile. The king then took the whole upon himself, but was so dilatory in his preparations, that Sebastian Cabot, quite tired out, having been five years out upon this expedition, resolved to return home, which he did, embarking the remainder of his men, and all his effects, on board the largest of his ships, and leaving the smaller vessels behind him.

It was the spring of the year 1531, when Cabot arrived at the Spanish court, and gave an account of his voyage. It is evident from the manner in which the Spanish author speaks of him, that he was not well received; and one may easily account for it. He had raised himself enemies by treating his Spanish mutineers with so much severity; and, on the other hand, his owners were disappointed by his not pursuing his voyage to the Moluccas. He kept his place, however, and remained in the service of Spain many years after, till at length, he was invited over to England.

His return is supposed to have happened towards the close of the reign of Henry VIII. for it appears that he resided at Bristol in the year 1546.

In the first year of Edward VI. this celebrated navigator was introduced to the duke of Somerset, with whom he was in great favour, and by whom

whom he was made known to the king, who took a great deal of pleasure in his conversation, being much better versed in the studies to which Cabot had applied himself, than most of his courtiers, notwithstanding his youth; for he knew not only all the ports and havens in his own dominions, but also those in France, their shape, the course to enter them, their commodities and incommo-
dities, and, in short, could answer almost any question about them that a sailor could ask. We need not wonder, therefore, that with such a prince Cabot was in high esteem, or that, in his favour, a new office should be erected, equivalent to that which he had enjoyed in Spain, together with a pension of 166 l. 13 s. 4 d. which we find granted to him by letters patent, dated January 6, 1549, in the second year of that king's reign, by a special clause in which patent, this annuity is made to commence from the Michaelmas preceding. Thence forward he continued highly in the king's favour, and was consulted upon all matters relating to trade, particularly in the great case of the merchants of the Steel-yard in 1551, of which proper notice has been taken in the life of the duke of Northumberland.

In the month of May, 1552, Cabot laid proposals before the king, for a discovery of the north east passage to China and the Indies: which being approved, three ships were fitted out for the enterprise, and the command given to Sir Hugh Willoughby, to whom instructions were given, drawn up by Sebastian Cabot, at this time governor of the company of merchants adventurers. These instructions are preserved entire in Hakluyt, and are a convincing proof how highly and deservedly he was esteemed by the king and the merchants. Sir Hugh Willoughby sailed from Gravesend in May, 1553, and in August, he lost sight of his second ship,

ship, commanded by captain Richard Chancellor, which never joined him again; in the same month, he discovered Greenland, but the Dutch pretend to an earlier discovery. His utmost progress was to 72 deg. N. Lat. and then finding the weather intolerably cold, the year far spent, and his ships unable to bear the sea, he put into the haven of Arfina in Lapland, on the 18th of September; but being unable to come out, when the frost set in; he was found there the next spring, frozen to death, (and all his ship's company) having the journals of his voyage, and his will lying before him; by which it appeared that he lived till January 1554.

As for captain Chancellor, after many dangers and difficulties, he penetrated to Archangel in Muscovy, being the first person who discovered a passage to that port; and from thence he returned safe home. But unfortunately for him, he went a second voyage to the same place, to bring over an ambassador from the court of Muscovy to queen Mary, who brought her presents, with an invitation to open a commercial intercourse between England and Muscovy; and on their passage the ship was cast away upon the coast of Scotland, when captain Chancellor, in saving the life of the Russian ambassador was drowned.

In consequence of this embassy, the Russia company was established by Charter, 1 Philip and Mary 1554, and of this company Sebastian Cabot was appointed governor for life, because he was principally concerned in fitting out the first ships employed in that trade.

After this, we find him very active in the affairs of the company in the year 1556; and in the journal of Mr. Stephen Burroughs, it is observed, that on the 27th of April that year, he went down to Gravesend, and there went aboard the Search-thrift,

thrift, a small vessel, fitted out under the command of the said Burroughs, for Russia, where he gave generously to the sailors, and, on his return to Gravesend, he extended his alms very liberally to the poor, desiring them to pray for the success of this voyage. We find it also remarked, that, upon his coming back to Gravesend, he caused a grand entertainment to be made at the sign of the Christopher, where, says Mr. Burroughs, for the very joy he had to see the towardness of our intended discovery, he entered into the dance himself, a circumstance which shews the urbanity and cheerfulness of his disposition. This is the last action of his life on record, and it is uncertain how long he lived afterwards; for the dreadful scenes that were daily transacting might occasion him to retire from public life; and we have no reason from hence to conclude, that he died soon after, as it has been conjectured, without any authority, or shadow of reason.

He was unquestionably one of the most extraordinary men of the age in which he lived, who, by his capacity and industry, contributed not a little to the service of mankind in general, as well as of this kingdom. For he was the first who took notice of the variation of the compass, which is of such vast consequence in navigation, and has engaged the attention of the learned from that time to the present.

*** *Authorities.* Herrera's History of the Indies, Spanish edit. 1612.

Hakluyt's Memoirs of the Navigations and Discoveries of the English, edit. 1589.

Lediard's Naval History.

